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Its Place in World Life

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Latin America

Its Place in World Life

Samuel Guy Inman

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CONTENTS

Introduction 3

Book One

WHO ARE THE LATIN AMERICANS?

I. Perspectives and Character Molds 15

II. Racial Backgrounds 34

III. The Second Invasion — Population Tendencies 48

Bibliography 79

Book Two

REVOLUTIONS AND THEIR CAUSES

IV. The Struggle for Independence 89

V. The Hard Road Toward Democracy 106

VI. Foreign Interference 116

VII. Evolution of Various States 134

Bibliography 150

Book Three

RECENT REVOLUTIONS

VIII. Social Background 157

IX. Dictators and Bankers 173

X. Bonds, Nitrates and Students 182

XI. Politics, Wheat and Coffee 196

XII. BOUNDARY DISPUTES AND ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM 213
BIBLIOGRAPHY 240

Book Four

NEW FORCES

XIII. LABOR 247 ✓
XIV. STUDENTS 261 ✓
XV. COMMUNISTS 280 ✓
XVI. SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE 305 ✓
XVII. INTERNATIONAL HORIZONS 316 ✓
XVIII. INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT BUENOS AIRES 330
BIBLIOGRAPHY 355

Book Five

WHAT WILL THE NEW ORDER BE?

XIX. URUGUAY IN EVOLUTION 363
XX. MEXICO IN REVOLUTION 375
XXI. WHAT NEXT? 406
XXII. POETS VERSUS ENGINEERS 420 ✓
EPILOGUE 433
BIBLIOGRAPHY 437

Appendix

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY 447
IMPORTANT DATES IN LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY 450
SOME INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES 453
INDEX 455

Latin America

Its Place in World Life

INTRODUCTION

THE GROWING importance of Latin America's place in world life has been emphasized afresh by the recent Buenos Aires meeting of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. At the first peace conference at The Hague in 1899 the South Americans were regarded as having so little influence in international life that Mexico was the only one of the Southern countries to receive an invitation. But in December of 1936 the eyes of the world were anxiously fixed on Buenos Aires. One who had the privilege of haunting those halls where foregathered the Pan-American peace leaders, of feeling the heartbeat of common American life and of watching the growing interplay of forces from every section of the universe, could not help realizing the need of fresh study of the past and the multiplied influences of the present that together will determine the future of these Indo-Latin-American peoples.

Buenos Aires itself is one of the best illustrations of the pulsating enthusiasm of South America, with its constant struggle between the old and the new, geographically, economically, spiritually. A city of nearly three million people, its first impression on the foreigner is often not unlike a blow in the face. A people who can build a world center like this challenge attention. One blinks his eyes and asks himself how it is that he, who boasted himself a world citizen, had missed this superb illustration of world life! As he grows more familiar with the landmarks he realizes that the city has moods. With its boulevards and cafés and clubs it is like Paris. Its devotion to cattle and wheat, banks and new skyscrapers, makes it the Chicago of the South. Meeting the diplomats, the international commissions and the intellectual leaders who come to the rich new world to sell their ideas, one calls it another Washington. But after a dozen visits and much mingling with its people, one is convinced that it is distinctively Buenos Aires, " Good Airs " from everywhere.

On the day the inter-American conference met, the announcement was made of the signing of a commercial treaty between Argentina and Great Britain, and rumor had it that the minister of foreign affairs of the first country was advising with the ambassador of the second concerning the proceedings of the New World conclave.[1] This same minister of foreign affairs had just received the Nobel Peace Prize on his return from a triumphant tour of Europe, where he had presided as its chief official over the assembly of the League of Nations. Interestingly enough, he was likewise elected president of the inter-American conference. Most of the delegates meeting in the Anchorena Palace — christened by Ambassador Castillo Nájera of Mexico as America's new peace palace — were too absorbed in committee debates and social functions to note the daily shift of international winds indicated by such straws as: The Argentine government acquiring the interests of Standard Oil Company in the republic; twenty students leaving Santos on a German liner as guests of the German government; Chile making a new commercial treaty with Italy, recognizing the latter's claims to Ethiopia; a lecturer from the University of Tokyo, speaking first-class Spanish, attracting large crowds in Buenos Aires; the British ambassador presiding at the award to twenty Argentines of scholarships in England.

The peace conference itself, in its last session, showed the widely varying currents of Latin-American sympathy by standing in prayerful silence after the woes of *la madre patria,* Spain, had been recalled; by sending a long fraternal greeting to the pope at Rome and the League of Nations at Geneva; and by listening to the representatives of Bolivia and Paraguay on the progress being made in the final dissipation of the only hostile cloud on the American horizon.

The debates at the Buenos Aires conference revolved around the great problem which occupies the whole world today: universality versus regional solidarity — democracy versus totalitarianism. A few days before President Roosevelt arrived in South America, an immense meeting was held in a downtown theater in Buenos Aires where the fascist speaker, dressed to imitate Hitler, led the audience in the cry of "Death to the Jews, death to the Protestants, death to the Masons!" President Roosevelt found Brazil officially declared to be in "a state of war" in order to give its president the power he thought he needed to deal with what he deemed the threat of communism. Mr. Roosevelt was also surprised that North American importers in Brazil were being forced to buy German goods instead of those of their own country because a recent agreement to accept German compensation marks reduced German goods to one half the cost of goods from the United States.

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[1] It is interesting to remember that Great Britain, on Bolívar's invitation, sent an observer to the Panama Congress in 1826.

Said delegate Manini Rios from Uruguay, in opposing the treaty, proposed by the United States, providing neutrality of the American continent in case of a European war: "It would be unwise for us to widen still more the Atlantic ocean which separates us from Europe. The truth is that the countries around the Rio de la Plata are more intimately related culturally and economically with some of the European countries than we are with America." Mexican delegates, on the other hand, declared that it was necessary for them to go to Buenos Aires to learn that because of the similarity of the social program in the two countries, they were more nearly in sympathy with the United States than they were with southern South America.

The visit of President Roosevelt to South America gave democracy a lift, the need of which was very apparent. Not since the days of the Holy Alliance had such tremendous efforts been made by Europe, especially by Germany, Italy and Russia, to influence South America. Besides the overwhelming propaganda of fascism, recent economic and political conditions had favored the return of old-fashioned Latin-American men of iron. Just before or during the conference new dictatorships were announced in Peru and Cuba. Only in a few countries like the United States, Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia could it be said that there was not at least a benevolent dictatorship. But so strongly did President Roosevelt place the emphasis on democracy, coming as he did directly from an overwhelming electoral triumph, with his enemies accepting defeat without debate, that one could feel the results immediately in all parts of the continent.

A part of the President's influence was of course due to his personality, especially to his intuition, a characteristic dear to the Latin — as also to his familiarity with pain, his love for children, his interest in the " forgotten man " and in social legislation, and his simple faith in religion. Said *Noticias gráficas* of Buenos Aires, often a sensational critic of the United States:

> Roosevelt passed through our city like a meteor; in forty-eight hours he conquered the sympathy of our people and cemented friendship with our officials. This "Pastor of the People," as we have already called him in commenting on his remarkable photograph, has the irresistible fascination of the Apostle. He came to tell us what we wanted to hear. He arrived just when he was most needed; when we were being coaxed to believe that democracy has failed and that we must choose between fascism and communism, this great man has communicated to us his optimistic faith in democracy.

There is no doubt, whatever cynics or " realists " may say, that Latin America believes fundamentally in democracy. Lack of preparation, scarcity of education among the masses, tendencies to individualism, sparsity of population, all these have kept the political pendulum swinging from the one extreme of anarchy to the other of dictatorship. To cite only one more comment on the President's visit: the following, from the conservative *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, probably represents the conviction which, if given a chance, will prevail:

> Nations who lack organization or who are subject to dictatorships of any kind never have internal tranquillity but, on the other hand, are a constant menace to international peace. The real peace which we need and covet is possible only within democracy; for such a peace is not simply the absence of armed struggle but tranquillity of spirit, respect for honest thought and action, harmonious balance between order and justice.

It is encouraging to see how the most severe critics of North America among student leaders, labor chiefs and radical intellectuals, as well as the average Southerner, have now turned to our President and our country as the hope of the world. With dictatorships rampant in Europe and Asia, with liberal institutions in the struggle to be born in Hispanic America, one is frankly told again and again that the free working democracy with its new social tendencies in the United States is the only note of courage that the liberal hears today.

Twelve years ago, in *Problems in Pan-Americanism,* the author gave considerable space to the very severe criticism of imperialistic policies of the United States by the intellectuals in the South. During the Buenos Aires conference he had the satisfaction of hearing from such notable writers as Dr. Alfredo Palacios, Manuel Ugarte and Maximo Soto Hall eulogies on the new policies of the United States. They seemed to be impressed even more with the new turn toward social democracy and friendship for the common man instead of for the great corporations, than with the remarkable new attitude toward Latin America.

But as the citizen of the North enjoys this praise, he remembers again the likeness between the boulevards of Buenos Aires and those of Paris. For the great crowds on Plaza Mayo, breaking through police lines in their wild enthusiasm to see Franklin Roosevelt, one sees substituted the ovations in the Place de la Concorde for another great representative of American democracy, Woodrow Wilson. And suddenly, remembering the tragic finale of that scene, one is chilled.

But the job in Buenos Aires was not to settle a war but to maintain the peace. Left behind for this purpose was not a group of warring nationalists, but the apostle of Pan-American concord, Cordell Hull, who enjoys equally with his Chief the confidence of distinguished delegates from twenty other American nations who are themselves wholly devoted to this cause. " I arise," said Mr. Hull, when the conference was assembled to receive a peace pact already signed by every delegation, " to express my joy and my satisfaction in working with my fellow delegates. . . . There is not a small man in this whole conference. I will follow you wherever you may lead." The detailed accomplishments of the conference will be described in a later chapter of this book, but the spirit of harmony, so conspicuous by its absence in most of the recent international gatherings, was everywhere in evidence.

But for the unfounded fears of one influential delegate that American solidarity would mean weakened European relations, Brazil's proposal for the continentalizing of the Monroe Doctrine, and the kindred project of the United States to set up a permanent consultative committee representing all the American governments, would have been unanimously adopted. Rephrasing in form slightly less positive than the original permitted finally the unanimous adoption of both principles. Thus a peace machinery to guide the carrying out of American peace pacts was established at Buenos Aires. With this real start, after so many false ones during the last century, much should be accomplished at the next Pan-American conference scheduled to meet in Lima in 1938. Such important questions as an inter-American tariff agreement, an inter-American court of justice, the relations between the Pan American Union and the League of Nations, the collection of pecuniary claims and the improvement of maritime connections, remain on the program for the future.

Cultural exchange and moral disarmament were stressed at Buenos Aires as in no other of the Pan-American conferences. This was due to the fresh realization that it is useless for government representatives to sign treaties if their people are not prepared, in intellect and sympathy, to support such agreements. The United States was the author of the approved treaty that each American government send annually at its own expense one professor and two students to each of the other twenty American countries. Other delegations emphasized the importance of the exchange of books, periodicals and bibliographies, the enlargement of educational broadcasts and films, the development of art and cultural exhibits. A program of intellectual and spiritual exchange was outlined that might vastly increase co-operation, at present relatively small, among the countries of this hemisphere. But former experience shows that little will be carried out if definite agencies are not set up for this purpose. For this reason the conference requested each government to organize a national committee to promote this exchange.

As for the United States, certainly it is necessary for both the government and private agencies to take seriously the promotion of this spiritual entente unless we are prepared to renounce any desire to influence the future of Latin America. The present high standing of the United States with the Southern countries, unprecedented in history, is due to what is happily called the "good neighbor" policy. But so far, this policy has to a certain extent been expressed in political and negative terms: we have promised not to intervene in a neighbor's affairs and to consult with others if continental peace is threatened. This was absolutely necessary as the basis of any positive offer of friendly understanding. But it is only preliminary to larger efforts. The writing of this paragraph was interrupted by the visit of a group of South American educators who came to say that they were increasingly impressed by the profound ignorance of many Southern intellectuals concerning the educational and spiritual ideals of the North, and to make an appeal to the cultural forces of the United States to co-operate with their group in a movement for a spiritual *rapprochement*. They pointed out that even in the matter of government, South American teachers were often heard to question whether the democracy of the United States could be applied to Latin America. The government of Japan had just invited forty Brazilian engineering students for a three months' visit to that country. France has recently promised one million two hundred thousand francs to the library of the University of São Paulo. In that city there are Italian-Brazilian, Japanese-Brazilian, German-Brazilian, French-Brazilian and British-Brazilian cultural associations, usually with extensive headquarters, clerical staff and library. But nothing of the kind existed until this year to promote cultural exchange with the United States — for even to order an American book one must go where soap and suspenders are sold.

The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde is simplicity itself when compared with the mystery regarding the circulation of North American books in the South. In every sizable city in Latin America there are great German, French and Italian bookstores and sometimes magnificent British book displays. But to buy an "American" book is as difficult as for a rich man to enter heaven. A university professor in Buenos Aires says that, after years of effort to buy through local dealers or order direct from the publishers (who often do not even acknowledge receipt of the order), he now gets all his requests filled satisfactorily through a Berlin house. There is no question quite so fundamental in the promotion of North American cultural understanding with Latin America as is that of making available to the Latin-American public our publications, both books and periodicals.

The United States has not believed in propaganda by its government (except during the World War, when it promoted propaganda in Latin America with great success). But the rest of the world does believe in such activity. Today, when the doctrine of totalitarianism is being preached by foreign agents and literature in every Latin-American community, the believers in free expression of opinion, freedom of religious worship, education without imposition, the sacredness of individuality — such believers must arise and declare their faith or see it disappear. The government and people of the United States should lend a hand to neighborly groups in the South who believe in the same ideals as their Northern friends and are struggling, often in hostile atmosphere, to maintain them.

The struggle of the various forces at the Buenos Aires conference has been used as an illustration of the clash of interests and doctrines in all Latin America. We have called it one between democracy and totalitarianism. These are modern terms but they describe an old war. As in most wars, all the right is not on one side and peace without victory may bring the best results. Unfortunately, fear of an explosion — or of home constituencies — did not allow the delegates to discuss frankly how a strongly organized America might revivify a greatly weakened universal league. Neither did anyone dare to raise the question of how democratic governments might maintain respect for individual liberty and at the same time so direct economic machinery as to make it function for the benefit of the whole community. But the world must face these questions. Can Latin America contribute anything to the solution of these and other major problems troubling the world today?

It is the hope of the author that the present work, with its brief analysis of the historical, racial, psychological and social background of Latin America and its discussion of some of the present forces at work there may aid in answering this question. Here an endeavor is made to present in one volume an outline of the history and an interpretation of the life of Hispanic America — a volume one might tuck under his arm as he starts out, figuratively or literally, to visit these Southern neighbors.

It is too much to expect that critical readers, and particularly specialists, will agree altogether with another's views concerning the life of any people. The only justification of the present interpretations is that they derive from the experiences of one who has given some thirty years to intimate contacts and friendships with all classes of South Americans, from peons to presidents, from the deserts of Nuevo Leon to the wind-swept plains of Patagonia. These judgments, having been imbibed largely from Latin Americans, no doubt represent much of their point of view. The author has tried, however, not to be swayed unduly by his openly acknowledged admiration of much of Southern life.

The book deals, except incidentally, only with South America and Mexico. The Caribbean was treated in the author's *Trailing the Conquistadores* and in various chapters of Volumes I and II of *Studies in Hispanic-American Affairs* (George Washington University). Relations between the United States and Hispanic America have been dealt with extensively in *Problems in Pan-Americanism* (as well as in two volumes in Spanish) which it is his intention soon to rewrite entirely, including therein an examination of the relations of this continent to the League of Nations and the new world order.

The geographical and racial terminologies here used are more or less arbitrarily chosen and in some cases are no doubt inconsistent; but they usually follow Hispanic custom. The term " America " is used, unless the context indicates otherwise, in its original sense to designate the whole New World, since there are advantages in thinking of the two American continents as one in contrast to Europe, Asia and Africa. " North America " and " North Americans " refer to the United States and her citizens. This use of the term has come to be customary among Latin Americans. Their publicists, realizing the difficulties involved in such usage, have invented a name for us, *Estadounidenses,* though its equivalent in English, the " Unitedstatesians," has not as yet proved acceptable!

In referring collectively to those living in the twenty independent republics south of the Rio Grande (not including the colonial possessions still held in America by European countries) the author follows here their own authorities and calls them variously Latin Americans, Ibero-Americans, Hispanic Americans, Indo-Americans or at times simply Southerners. But usually the popular name, "Latin Americans," is used to designate the inhabitants of the twenty republics which extend from the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan and which, with the United States, comprise the Pan American Union. However, its use by no means goes unchallenged.[2]

But in spite of the controversy, most of the writers and educated people of these Southern countries themselves, and the outside world in general, continue to use the well established term, "Latin America." In this connection one remembers the large contribution made by Italy through immigration and still more the overwhelmingly predominant influence of French culture, not simply in Haiti, which France colonized, but in every section of these lands.

Although one should sedulously avoid the indiscriminate declaration that "Latin Americans think" this or that — if such statement be meant dogmatically to apply to all the countries in question, or to the total population of any one of the countries — as a matter of interpretative necessity, in an endeavor to analyze and summarize the salient characteristics, the formative factors, the general currents of thought which register the solidarity of any group of people, it is quite as legitimate and inevitable that one should generalize, within limits, for Latin America, as for Europe or the Orient or any other section of the world.

[2] A discussion of this subject is given in the Appendix.

Book One

WHO ARE THE LATIN AMERICANS?

I

PERSPECTIVES AND CHARACTER MOLDS

BECAUSE Latin Americans are different from North Americans and Europeans they have often been considered inferior. Because they continued to have revolutions and dictators when other nations were stressing order and universal suffrage, because they continued to value the individual when others magnified society, an industrial civilization has counted Latin America as backward. Today, however, when North America and Europe are disillusioned with the power of the machine to bring happiness and justice, there is fresh reason for re-examining the culture in process of development south of the Rio Grande.

The world is missing something in dividing itself into Occident and Orient, and thinking of its adjustment as being only between an Asiatic and a European-North American civilization. The popular term, " Western civilization," as opposed to " Oriental civilization," fails to take into account these Southern lands which, not simply because of their rapid growth in economic importance, but because of their peculiar approach to life, must be recognized as having a place all their own and as capable of making an important contribution to world life.

Here are a people who have taken much from Asia, from Europe and from America, and, living more or less isolated from the rest of the world, have worked out a philosophy which embraces some of the major points of view of all three of those continents. From Asia they received, through the Arabs and other Eastern peoples who largely influenced the Iberian peninsula, certain Oriental attitudes which still mold their psychology to a large degree. From Europe, particularly from France, they have received, and continue to borrow, much of their intellectual inspiration. From America they have received the enthusiasms of a new world. And, having won by their own might independence from their motherlands, they are building with ever increasing vigor and originality their own kind of culture.

It is time that the rest of the world made a real effort to understand Southern culture — not to condemn it as inferior, not to praise it as superior, but to recognize it as different and as offering valuable suggestions for the "codification" of spiritual values.

TWO DIFFERENT AMERICAS

That the American continent contains two different peoples seems to one who lives about half his time with each of them to be an especially important consideration in judging either group. While as citizens of a new world both have an underlying similarity of outlook generated by the prodigality of nature, the challenge of new frontiers, the form of government, and a faith in the future of their continent, all common to both, the two approach life from different points of view. Recognition of these differing approaches will do much to eliminate misunderstandings and to develop friendship. As Rear Admiral Chadwick said:

> It is this lack of understanding of what race character means that causes our trouble. It is the study of temperament, disposition, outlook on life, that we need for successful dealing with races so essentially different from our own. In such study is the crux of every international problem.

The Anglo-Saxon is practical. He wants things to happen. He wants people to be on time. He wants organization. He likes to standardize. He builds great skyscrapers, great industrial communities. He wants to work strenuously and to play strenuously. He wants the direct approach and is impatient of form and circumlocution.

The Latin is theoretical. He likes to discuss. The favorite mood of his verbs is the subjunctive. "Tomorrow" is his favorite word. His approach is indirect. His relations are individualistic and organizations have little appeal for him. Unlike his North American contemporaries, he will not sacrifice for efficiency's sake the time necessary for cultivating friendships.

Science is the god of the Anglo-Saxon American because it brings economic and military power, health, comfort, wealth. So in this field he is more successful than in the development of human relations. The Latin American, on the other hand, is primarily devoted to human relations and is adept in this realm, but finds little time for the exacting isolation of the laboratory and applied science.

If the Anglo-Saxon is empirical, the Latin is juridical. In explaining to the League of Nations the difficulty of agreement between France, with her theory of security, and Great Britain, with her view of the practical program involved, Sir Austen Chamberlain said:

> It is natural for the Latin mind first to fix certain abstract principles, to settle general rules, and proceed to apply them in detailed cases. . . . We [the British] are prone to eschew the general; we are fearful of these logical conclusions pushed to extremes, because in fact, human nature being what it is, logic plays but a small part in our everyday life. . . . At no single moment have we formulated general principles with logical precision. On the contrary, nearly every vital decision that we have taken has been illogical and for that reason all the more adapted to reconcile conflicting interests and to find a middle path.

The Pan-American conferences have often failed to accomplish much because of the difference in the Northern and Southern conceptions of their purpose. The Latin Americans believe that the conferences ought to face fundamental principles: define first of all the rights and the duties of national sovereignty on the American continent, and then lay down rules concerning arbitration, recognition of governments, attitude toward extra-continental powers and codification of international law. The United States delegates, on the other hand, believe that the continents can best be brought together by practical measures that will improve commercial exchange. Latin-American delegates have attended the conferences accompanied by advisers who are their most noted international lawyers, while the advisers of the North American delegates have usually been selected from the Department of Commerce. Latin Americans desire to set up regularly defined processes with permanent machinery to settle disputes, while North Americans desire to meet every emergency in a practical way as it arises.

Another cause of division has been the different emphasis placed by the two peoples on national and personal dignity. Far more important to the Latin American than any monetary gain or practical advance is the proper recognition of his *dignidad.* One recalls dozens of instances where Anglo-Saxon diplomacy collapsed at this point. In the worst day of the recent Mexican revolution there was such widespread want in Mexico that friends in the United States took steps to distribute food among the needy. But the Red Cross at Washington moved without proper consideration of Mexico's dignity and sovereignty. So, notwithstanding the great suffering, the Red Cross was politely told to get out of the country. Such action may be censurable, but one wonders if it is not this very defense of her *dignidad* that saved Mexican sovereignty in the long years when foreign nations attempted to dictate her policies and laws.

Had President Theodore Roosevelt appreciated the necessity of respecting the *dignidad* of Colombia, one of the most painful breaks in friendship and one of the deepest rifts in Pan-American relations could have been avoided. And when the United States finally agreed to make amends for taking the Canal Zone, more important than the amount of indemnity to be paid, in the eyes of Colombia, was the recognition of the attack on Colombia's sovereignty. It is because the Latin American values more highly his *dignidad* than he does a full stomach, paved roads, smallpox vaccine and other blessings of efficiency, that he will never — it makes no difference how much it "betters" him — admit the right of intervention in his affairs by a foreign country.

Practical North Americans, and even the experts on Latin-American affairs in the Department of State at Washington, often assumed that the small countries of the Caribbean would appreciate our providing them with the blessings of the machine age and the well known moral perfections of our own political system. Even prominent liberals in the United States — true to their worship of the practical — forgot their principle of non-interference and called for "one more intervention to end intervention" when they saw a particularly objectionable dictatorship, like that of Machado in Cuba. Many a liberal has received great applause in the United States when he has proposed that if intervention became necessary, it should be a joint affair with Latin-American countries. Both proposals are unacceptable to Latin Americans. No intervention under any circumstances, they say. No violation of the principle of sovereignty at any time, for any purpose.

The value placed on *dignidad* and the emphasis put on abstract justice together explain the reason why no Latin-American country is likely to approve intervention by an outside nation or to agree to be a partner in any joint interference with national sovereignty. Destruction itself is regarded as preferable to sufferance of unlawful intrusion by any foreign power. Through proper consideration of the dignity of the smaller nations, the United States might in many cases have secured in the Caribbean countries certain privileges which, forced roughshod, have often provoked violent outbursts of protesting nationalism. When the outsider parades superiority or authority the Latin American rises on his dignity. Proud of his traditions and of his ancient culture, he revolts against the counsels of the "protecting" nation.

Nothing has ruffled the Southerner more than the rudeness of Washington politicians, who often have scarcely disguised their contempt for "inferior and turbulent peoples." President Theodore Roosevelt's cynical "I took the Canal Zone," Secretary Olney's bombastic "our word is law on the American continent," are poor approaches to Pan-American friendship. Equally alienative is the attitude of certain Northern businessmen who endeavor to dominate the finances of small Caribbean countries and who, when told that a government does not desire to give a certain concession, exclaim: "How much will it take to buy the government?"

It is this disregard for the *dignidad* of Mexico that explains most of the diplomatic blunders through a century — beginning with our first minister, Joel Poinsett, who tried to tell the Mexicans what democracy was, followed by a successor who insisted that Mexico must sell us Texas, and so on through to Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson, who called a conference in the American embassy to discuss the fate of the Madero government.

THE GYMNASIUM OR THE CONSTITUTION?

The theoretical approach to problems is the most natural one for Latin Americans. In writing for a North American audience one feels constrained to begin with a "local color" story to catch the attention. A Latin-American audience prefers that one begin with the historical or philosophical background of the subject to be treated. Any discussion of a problem must in North America end with practical suggestions as to what to do about it. But the Latin American would question the wisdom of the speaker or writer who made such suggestions. A North American secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in Buenos Aires cleverly illustrated this point when he said that applicants for membership in the United States usually wanted beforehand to see the swimming pool, the gymnasium and the program of activities; but the young Latin American who came to investigate the desirability of membership requested, in the very first place, to see the constitution.

I remember how surprised I was, on first establishing a library in Mexico, to see that boys of twelve and fourteen were deeply interested in such authors as Tolstoy, Victor Hugo and Emerson. If they cared for a story at all it was not the thriller of the Nick Carter variety, but of the philosophical kind, like *Toilers of the Sea*. One reason for this preference is no doubt the fact that Latin-American children spend much time in the company of adults and very early participate in conversation with their elders. It is delightful and surprising to listen to these children at play, though to an Anglo-Saxon their long words and their formal manners seem stilted and imitative. Their formality and their interest in the theoretical are, however, perfectly natural.

When José Vasconcelos, as minister of education in Mexico, desired to rouse popular interest in reading, he had printed as the first books for popular distribution the works of Plato and Aristotle, the Bible, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and *Aesop's Fables*. North American "experts" laughed at him. But the books were read with avidity. One teacher told me how on Sunday mornings he used to take a wheelbarrowful of them to the lowest tenement section in Mexico City. They were eagerly seized by the poor, where one in the family could read, and exchanged the following Sunday for more philosophy or poetry.

In Argentina there were recently issued two popular libraries — something like our own Everyman's Library — the titles of which consisted entirely of works of poetry, philosophy and political economy, ancient and modern. All literate Latin Americans read verse, and almost everyone writes it. The most distinguished public citizens and government officials often choose to read an original poem rather than a prose address when taking part in a public program. I was on one occasion invited to participate in the formal opening of a new school in Mexico. When I protested the oratorical limitations of my Spanish the committee quite naïvely replied, "Oh, well then, write us a poem."

That ceremony, in which I finally agreed to take part, though *not* to write a poem, illustrates the Latin American's delightful emphasis on form. A special committee called at my home to escort me and to attend my every move at the school. The presiding officer formally rang a bell as an announcement for each number on the program, but said nothing. I was nervously wondering how I should know when my turn came. Once more the bell rang, and a charming young couple approached me, bowed low, and escorted me to the speakers' stand. There they stood, one on each side, until I had delivered my address, when they returned me to my seat. At the close of the program the committee took me home. A few days later, another committee called to thank me for my services and left a written testimonial of appreciation. The speech was a poor, halting affair; but the formalities were of the most approved!

This stress on formality is seen in the almost universal custom of reading one's address at a public gathering rather than trusting to informal, spontaneous presentation. The written page has a special importance and authority. Whereas we in the North would be likely to refuse a circular offered on the street, I have seen first citizens in a Mexican town accept with formal thanks such advertisements and read them immediately.

All Latin people attach particular importance to the written word, especially if it presents lofty thought, noble sentiment, beautiful form, colorful imagery. One reason why Woodrow Wilson appealed to Latins in America as well as in Europe was the noble quality of his written messages, as perfect in form as they were idealistic in content.

Any Anglo-Saxon who writes a Latin language feels the difference instinctively when he takes up his pen. When he is writing in English he is working on content, trying to express his thoughts briefly, thinking of saving time and space. But when he writes in Spanish such restraints are forgotten; he either talks leisurely with friends, bringing in whatever comes to his mind, or he endeavors to clothe what may be an idea in majestic form. One reason why translations of North American books are not very popular in Latin America is that in the emphasis on content form is often neglected. No matter how important the truth, its mere statement is not enough; it must have the proper embellishment.

Un hombre formal, " a formal man," is a man to be trusted. Behind this common description of a dependable person can be seen the confidence in one who keeps the forms of life. If he is consistently well mannered the community gradually comes to believe that he would keep his promises, pay his debts and meet his appointments. There are some very beautiful forms which at first seem curious and almost laughable to the foreigner, but which he may grow to appreciate. It took me a number of years to realize why it was that in Mexico a written invitation seemed to have more influence than one given orally; it is because a written invitation is formal. The most successful way of getting a representative company of people together is to write invitations and appoint a committee of two or three prominent men and women to deliver them personally, supplementing each with a verbal invitation.

In the rural districts a very curious old custom prevails, undoubtedly because of the scarcity of stationery and the lack of printing facilities. A general invitation to a meeting is written at the head of a sheet of foolscap paper. Then follow the names of the persons invited, each on a separate line. The invitation committee takes this paper and calls on the owner of each name. The invited person either marks his acceptance opposite his name or writes his excuse.

Much condemnation is visited on the Anglo-Saxon in Latin America because of his neglect of these customary formalities — a condemnation equal in severity to that heaped by his Northern neighbor on the Latin American because the latter does not make it a point to be on time for appointments.

Partly because of their love of form, as well as of their love of art, our Southern friends cannot understand the turning of a great piece of music into a foxtrot. In some Southern countries the national anthem is regarded as so sacred that it may be played without permission only on national holidays. The flag is even more sacred than it is in Anglo-Saxon countries. Its use as a cover for a table, or in any other than a purely symbolic way, is likely to get one into serious trouble. The love of music and poetry, of course, is recognized as an outstanding characteristic by any foreigner before he has been a week in these countries. Keyserling said he studied the music of Argentina in order to know that land. The pain of creating is what an Argentine calls the dominant aesthetic theme in his land and in his music one can best detect it. In Mexico it is not in music but in painting that one finds expressed the growing pains of the nation. It is doubtful whether there is in all history any such revelation of the new impulses of a people as in the marvelous frescoes of Diego Rivera and Orozco which line the walls of so many of the nation's public buildings.

IDEAL VERSUS REAL

The gulf that may yawn for the Anglo-Saxon between the real and the ideal seems for the Hispanic American scarcely to exist. He is totally unaware of it in his dreams, nor can it hold him from his projected enterprises. In spite of the fact that the young Spanish-American colonies on achieving their independence were unprepared for democracy, every one of them, rejecting the advice of Bolívar and other wise leaders, copied without modification, and adopted with utter confidence, the democratic Constitution of the United States. Since the early days new constitutions have been written in many of the republics, each more full of democratic formulas than the preceding one. Nothing is more touching than the struggle of such a country as Mexico toward the ideal democracy. Maximilian and every other possible reactionary force within and without might challenge and seemingly might make impossible its realization, but not for one moment was the banner of democracy lowered. The Mexican Constitution of 1917 was at the time of its writing the most advanced in its social program of any political document in the world, and probably remains so to date. And yet Mexico at that time was one of the most backward of countries in democratic practices. However, there is the ideal — some day it may be realized! This habit of mind is what Ambassador Nabuco of Brazil called " invoking pure justice in a world governed by interests."

This idealistic urge unharnessed to reality is one of the strongest assets and at the same time a weakness of the Latin-American spirit. It has challenged the admiration of many a foreigner even while attracting ridicule. Combined with certain other characteristics it makes the Latin American a most delightful personal friend, and yet the most exasperating member of a commercialized social order, for his values are carried over into his business life. Take the conception of time, for example. The impatience of the North American, his desire for something to happen quickly, is seldom seen in the Latin Southerner. He can wait. There is nothing to be gained by forcing quick action; it will all come about in due time. Not that he is constitutionally opposed to change, but he has time to wait for the " fullness of time." The Saxon's watch is his dictator, morning and night, winter and summer, at home or office, at work or on vacation. It matters not what he is doing; if he has an appointment, he must brusquely break away and run off in order not to be late. Not so with the Latin American. There are a number of things more important to him than time — friends, conversation, the plaza, the races, a poem, for example. An appointment with him for ten thirty may mean some time that morning. If you want or expect him to be exactly on time you specify *hora inglesa,* " English hour." Does this mean that he is lazy or irresponsible? I have come to believe it does not.

With the Latin American, kindness, consideration for the other person, is a most important quality. Brusqueness is to be avoided at all cost. If he is talking with you when the time arrives for another appointment, he is not likely to pull out his watch and rush away, leaving you gasping in the midst of an interview. His first duty is to you. To offend the person with whom he is engaged would be much more ungentlemanly than to keep someone farther away from being annoyed. Besides, that someone else may also be tardy. And if not, later a friendly slap on the back may win pardon from one who also believes that a kindness done is more important than an appointment kept.

The Latin American always has time for friends. They are the most important element in his life. He is never too busy to attend them. As a matter of fact, he takes time to be polite to anyone — which is one of the reasons why North Americans who learn the language and identify themselves with the community like to live in the Southern countries. After having lived for several years in a small Mexican city, where we shook hands with the clerks in the shops before buying, and invited the bill collectors to have a seat and inquired about the health of their families before approaching the mundane matters of business, I returned to the United States and called on an old friend in his office. As we had been rather intimate he did not think it necessary to receive me formally. While he talked to me he also answered calls on two telephones on his desk, received other callers to whom I was not introduced, and gave instructions to his secretary. I was astounded at such treatment and soon arose to go. Without arising from his desk he waved me good-bye with a "See you again." It took me some days to remember that all this was normal, that my friend really cared for me, would lend me his last dollar, but that he was too busy to have time for unhurried fellowship. He was one of his town's first citizens, leader in the chamber of commerce and in the church. But he was as different from a first citizen of our Mexican city as day is from night. One was successful; the other was *simpático*. One made money, promoted new enterprises that helped the community, gave generously to charity and religious organizations; the other was also in business, but the time he might have given to enlarging it or to promoting community enterprises he often gave to being a good neighbor. The money he gave to charity was not handed to an organization, but was disbursed by himself to individuals who were often regarded as friends.

My North American friend made considerable money by buying and selling property. But my Mexican friend, if he had property, would probably not have the salesman's attitude. Suppose you wanted to buy a piece of property and offered the Mexican owner a fair price. He might very likely refuse to sell. You raise the price, finally offering much more than the market value. No, he doesn't want to sell; he doesn't need the money; he has enough to live on, to send his sons to college and give the family a trip to Paris. Why therefore should he go to the trouble and worry of selling this property? An exasperating attitude to the North American who has his heart set on that particular piece of property! But I have seen it happen over and over again.

BUSINESS METHODS

In the same way, the North American salesman finds it difficult to hurry the Southern merchant. In the North he may dash into the store, "contact" (what a word!) the buyer, open his samples, and by high-pressure methods convince the merchant of the salability and low price of the article and walk out with an order. But many a smart young fellow from the North has found that such tactics are futile in the South. A better procedure is to call in style on the proprietor, present introductions, discuss the greatness of the country of which one is a guest, tell some interesting things about one's own land, and draw out the merchant on the general business situation. On the second call one may begin to feel a friendship developing and perchance receive an invitation to luncheon, or a card to a club. At the convenience of the merchant, with no rushing tactics whatever, the third call, made by invitation, may bring an order; if so, no small affair, but something that will surprise and delight. When such a connection is made and honorably followed up with satisfactory merchandise it is likely to prove a lifelong friendship. That your competitor may offer to undersell you at times, will make little difference if over the years your merchant friend has learned that you are protecting his interests as well as yours, that there has been established a friendly partnership. If under special conditions you have to charge something to his account in order to protect him, if you show you are continually watching out for his interests and always giving him the best, your goods may even be a bit higher in price. What he wants is to have friendly confidence and feel that he can without shopping around carry on trade relations beneficial both to himself and to his source of supply.

This is one reason for the well known desire of Latin-American merchants for long-term credits. That is a sign of friendly confidence as well as of dislike of high-pressure methods. If a foreign businessman is not prepared to adjust his methods to this psychology he had better not try Southern markets. He may secure a certain amount of business by high-pressure methods but it will be with the least responsible firms, often with other foreigners who play their wits against his.

Of course there are many North American businessmen who think that Latin Americans are as a class dishonest. But discussion of this question with many creditors reveals that about the same percentage of Latin-American businessmen pay their debts and honorably carry out their part of contracts as do any other merchants, including those in the United States. As regards individual integrity, an agent of a large sewing machine company informed me that their collections in South America averaged one per cent better than those in the United States. An American businessman in Cuba told me he contracted for all his shipment of sugar simply by word of mouth, and that he practically never had anyone fail to keep his word.

The stable type of Southern businessman here referred to will often have another characteristic which is not found in the typical member of the chamber of commerce at home. He is interested in cultural affairs and likes to talk about literature, art, philosophy and world politics. Attend one of the newly formed Rotary clubs, and see the difference between it and those "back home." Not long ago I visited those in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. At the latter the French minister was being entertained. He was presented by the president in a speech describing, in beautiful French, France's latest contributions to science. The minister, replying in his own tongue, told for nearly an hour of some of the books recently published in his native land. In Buenos Aires, always more commercial-minded than any other Latin-American city, I thought we would get the "real thing," for a ranchman was announced to talk about the cattle business. He proved to be a graduate of Oxford who gave a history of cattle breeding in Europe and in Argentina and the economic philosophy back of its development!

It is easy to understand, then, that the Latin American engaged in commercial life, on retiring from business, is not confronted with the difficulty his North American confrère frequently has: that of not knowing what to do with himself when he no longer goes to the office. For the Latin American has always given considerable time to cultural contacts as well as to friends. If perchance he was unfortunate in youth and had no opportunity to cultivate these niceties, the first thing he is likely to do, when able to afford it, is to take the necessary time and money for travel and reading that will make him at home in discussions on cultural topics, and in the refined intercourse of friendly society.

Of course, here, as at the end of almost every paragraph in this effort at introducing the Southerners, I feel impelled to stop to point out exceptions. They are especially numerous in great cities like Buenos Aires and São Paulo, where the vulgar display of the *nouveau riche* is as disagreeable as in any other part of the world. But as a type the Latin American knows much better how to enjoy his leisure than do we of the North.

It is interesting to observe that as unemployment drives us of the United States to short hours and the five-day week, we feel it necessary to appoint commissions to organize our leisure time! This suggests the difference between Northerners and Southerners not only in regard to leisure, but also in regard to organization. Wherever two or three North Americans are found together they will organize. A committee is appointed which proceeds to divide into subcommittees. The world can be saved if only we can organize enough committees—

although a fellow citizen did suggest recently that his epitaph might be written in the words, "Committeed to death." Not so with the Latin American. As an individualist, he is not committed by or to organization.

Here is an example. On my first visit to South America in 1914 I shipped from Panama on the old *Huascar,* which took nearly three weeks to arrive at Valparaiso. I soon became acquainted with my fellow-passengers, practically all Peruvians and Chileans. We started to discuss first the Monroe Doctrine and then practically every other phase of international politics and culture. Morning, noon and night we walked the decks or sat in the salon conversing. Never had I learned so much Spanish, so much history, so much psychology. By the time we arrived at Valparaiso I felt that I had received the reactions of my Latin-American friends on every important topic in the world. After a month in Chile and my first breath-taking trip across the Andes, followed by several weeks in Buenos Aires, I shipped to Lisbon aboard the old English liner *Demerara.* The first morning out I was asked to join the other passengers in the salon to organize a sports committee. I begged off. I wanted to read a number of new books given to me by their authors, newly made friends in Santiago and Buenos Aires. What! Wouldn't I do my part to make the voyage enjoyable? Everybody else was taking his share, paying his part for the prizes, doing his stunt in the entertainments. Of course I would play the game! So it went — no time to read, no time to discuss, no time to meditate. We were organized every moment of the day until late at night; organized, for the benefit of — well, maybe for the glory of the Anglo-Saxon race, or maybe for the ship's barber who sold the prizes!

This point brings up the difference between the two Americas in regard to play. When Dr. Justo Sierra, the erudite minister of education in the Porfirio Díaz cabinet, found his friend Don Ezequiel Chavez, director of the National Preparatory School, looking rather pale and tired, he advised him to look into the matter of exercise. On meeting Don Ezequiel two weeks later and inquiring if the advice had been followed, he was told: "*Sí, señor,* I have read every book in the National Library on the subject." Twenty years ago there was no athletic field or gymnasium connected with any university in Latin America. Not today. Foreigners, and nationals who have gone to college in Anglo-Saxon lands, have made certain parts of the population, especially of Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Cuba and Mexico, enthusiastic over soccer, basketball and baseball. But these games are played mostly by those who care little for intellectual pursuits. It is still true that the great majority of university students in Latin America depend on discussion of scholarly subjects and world events for their recreation, just as North Americans depend on athletics.

While reformers in Latin America have been trying to get young people away from clubs and political discussions into the open air, serious-minded North Americans are increasingly distressed by the vast amount of time our college students dedicate to athletics and by their faint interest in social and international problems, and they ask how our young people may be brought to imitate Latin-American students. Probably each group might profit by adopting some of the other's practice. But probably also neither will solve its problems by ceasing entirely to follow its own instincts in order to adopt the customs of the foreigner.

Latin Americans are incurably intellectual — even those who have not enjoyed a formal education. And I, for one, believe it would be a great loss to the world to have them turned into athletes, efficiency experts and factory workers. A modicum of these added to Southern life would not hurt. Indeed, as we trace history and present conditions in the following pages, we shall see the fatal results of too large an emphasis on individualism and too great an inclination to idealize. But their adoption of too much efficiency would deprive the world of some of the most charming companions and scintillating minds found anywhere on the globe.

The Anglo-Saxon's ideals revolve around morality and success; those of the Latin American revolve around beauty and brilliance. As pupils in grade school we of the North copied a hundred times the motto, "Honesty is the best policy," and we had instilled in us a belief that if we were religious God would give us success. All such reasoning is quite foreign to the Hispanic American. Not social service, nor morality, nor business success has primary place in his world. Beauty and intellectual brilliancy, with plenty of leisure to enjoy them, are what makes him happy.

The Latin American, therefore, thinks differently from his Northern neighbors about such fundamental concepts as time, work, success, joy, truth, beauty. There is plenty of time: *mañana será otro día,* "tomorrow will be another day." Work is an auxiliary to life, not the main objective. Success is found not so much in what you are as in who you are. Joy is not just optimism or having a good time; it is capacity for feeling all the moods of man and nature, and so it includes melancholy, a participation in the sadness as well as the gladness of the world. Truth is not moral, it is spiritual; it is not absolute but relative; it is not impersonal but varies with feeling. Beauty is the greatest of all ideals. Ugliness, in personal conduct, in affairs of state, in relationship to nature — that is the unpardonable sin.

The world will hardly look to the Latin American for leadership in a democracy, in organization, in business, in science, in rigid moral values. But, on the other hand, Latin America has something to contribute to an industrialized and mechanistic world concerning the value of the individual, the place of friendship, the use of leisure, the art of conversation, the attractions of the intellectual, the equality of races, the juridical basis of international life, the place of suffering and contemplation, the value of the impractical, the importance of people over things and rules. The fact that Latin Americans happen to emphasize these characteristics in their own lives is due largely to their racial inheritances, which are discussed in the next chapter.

All that follows will be a comment on the thought-molds of Hispanic America and will serve to correct the impression, if that has been given here, that these mind-sets are easily understood or react according to a diagram. Even if we could isolate and analyze the Iberian character, which is older and more standardized and has been diagnosed by numerous Hispanic authorities like Miguel de Unamuno and Oliveira Martins, it would be much more difficult to do the same for the younger people of Latin America. One reason is that they are at one and the same time two different peoples — Iberians and Indians — and it has not yet been determined which of these the new person, the Ibero-Indian-American, most resembles. Another reason is that the psychological character of Latin Americans, who are an adolescent people, will not remain stable. Today for the first time countries like Mexico and Peru are definitely, intelligently, setting themselves to work out a new character, with both elements in the mestizo contributing their best. And along with that best come the contributions of blood and ideas from Africa, from Russia, from the Orient and from the industrial Occident.

However, with all the changes taking place in the South in these days when it is opening its doors so eagerly to universal life, it will probably be true for a long time that the outstanding feature in the thought and soul-life of the Southern Americans will include: a sense of timelessness and of destiny; a continued emphasis on the worth of personality; an instinctive protest against the idea that success in business and the acquisition of wealth are accomplishments superior to the acquiring of culture; an insistence that to enjoy life one must renounce whatever would rob him of independence. In other words, it is life itself, not its accidents, its possessions, its achievements, that is most worth while. Being what you want to be is more desirable than getting what you want.

As Amado Nervo, the Mexican mystic, puts it:

> "Two nets I cast," said the sailor to me,
> "Into the depths of the abyss.
>
> "The first was the net of Analysis.
> After it I played out all the cables
> of the vessel. . . .
> With a tremendous longing
> I examined the meshes, thread by thread,
> And I beheld the bottom of the net with anguish,
> And the bottom of the net was empty!
>
> "The second was Intuition, deep,
> Feeling the firm mesh of instinct,
> The eye mysteriously open.
>
> "And when I hauled in after a brief while
> The cable of the vessel,
> I found flora and fauna indescribable,
> Enormous pearls of magnificent luster,

Creatures so tenuous and so real,
And of such prodigious and unequaled beauty;
A world, a new world, a whole world,
Until yesterday ill understood by me!

"Two nets I cast," the sailor said to me,
"Into the depths of the abyss."

II

RACIAL BACKGROUNDS

AMONG the interesting books that I picked up on a recent trip to South America was one entitled *¿Por que ser anti-semita?* — " Why be Anti-Semitic? " — a symposium by thirty-four leading Brazilian writers. It was Brazil's protest against the importation of foreign race prejudice, as essayed by the Hitler movement through the German diplomatic officials and German social clubs. The quickness of this representative group in acting together as soon as they saw their national doctrine of race equality threatened by foreigners, illustrates the eagerness of Brazilians to guard their country from the race antagonisms that have done so much harm to other lands. Says one of the authors of *¿Por que ser anti-semita?:*

> In America anti-Semitism is understood as religious hatred, as strife between two or more creeds, and as such a thing it belongs to the past. The anti-Semite who is able to live in America today is not an American, he is European. He must disappear, if for no other reason than that he cannot find here the pasture for feeding his stupidity. He is like a warrior who would arm himself in modern days as though he were going to the Thirty Years' War. . . .
>
> Considered as a race, the Jew interests us as would any other individual of any other race. As a religion, Judaism also interests us, as does the religious attitude of any other man facing the phenomena of nature: he may contribute to our wisdom, he may satisfy our curiosity; but he is not a special part of our spirituality because the spiritual integrity of America reposes as much in Buddhism as it does in Christianity or any other " ism " which the religious spirit and the tendency to worship may have developed for use in any other part of the world. [Pp. 106-7]

In its impatience with the racial hatreds which are so threatening to the peace and happiness of the world, this attitude is quite typical of all Latin America.

José Vasconcelos, the Mexican educator, speaking of a " cosmic race " which he believes is developing in Latin America, says:

> The civilization of North America is a one-race civilization, a white-race civilization as you insist on calling yourselves, sometimes even to the exclusion of other whites, as for instance the Spaniard. A white civilization that may contain, and does contain, millions of other racial stocks, such as the Negro, but does not consider such dissimilar stock as a part of itself and does not as a rule intermarry with it. . . .
>
> On the other hand, we have in the South a civilization that from the beginning accepts a mixed standard of social arrangement not only as a matter of fact but also through law, since the Indian after being baptized became the equal of the Spaniard and was able to intermarry with the conqueror. . . .
>
> If we compare the results of the English policy in India with the results of the Spanish policy in America, even at a time when the British policy is not yet ripe, not having had the centuries of the Spanish colonization's experience, I believe that we shall be justified in declaring that the cultural results of the Spanish method are superior. . . .[1]

One naturally asks: How does Latin America happen to differ so much from many other parts of the world in its belief in race equality? The answer is found in its inheritances from the past. The Latin American is made up of three original stocks — the Indian, the Iberian and the Negro. While in blood the Indian element predominates in most Latin-American countries, the chief thought influences are due to the Iberian people — the Spanish and the Portuguese — who introduced their culture through the conquistadors and the missionaries, superimposing it upon the native populations. That culture was so vigorous, so incisive, so clear-cut, so accustomed to dominate, that ever since its arrival on this continent it has shaped Latin-American life.

The Iberian peninsula probably more than any other part of the world has a cosmopolitan background, for it is there that the Occident and the Orient met. Eastern civilization entered Spain from three different sources. First, as early as the eleventh century B.C., through the Phoenicians who conquered Cadiz. These continued their highly remunerative trade with Tarshish, a part of Spain (as pictured in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel), even after they came under the domination of Babylon and Persia between the eighth and the fifth centuries B.C. The second strain of Oriental influence came from Arabia, Egypt, the Berbers and other north African tribes through the Carthaginians who, on being invited to help Cadiz in a local struggle, stayed and ruled the peninsula until they were driven out by the Romans. The third and better understood infiltration came through the long Moorish invasion which stretched over about seven centuries.

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[1] *Some Aspects of Mexican Civilization* (University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 80–82.

It was largely through Spain that Europe received Grecian art, Oriental paper, Byzantine architecture and Arabian science. The geographical proximity of the peninsula to all parts of the ancient world, coupled with its isolation by the Pyrenees and the sea, meant that it not only received the contributions of so many civilizations, but that it kept them. So the Iberians became a cosmopolitan as well as a peculiar people, living physically in the Occident but psychologically in the Orient, with its love of the abstract, the philosophical, the poetical, the theological; with its emphasis on patience, on personal dignity, on the indirect approach, on form, politeness, tradition, on loyalty to friends and hatred of enemies, on patriarchal family life, on individual rights as more important than duties to organizations. For this reason one may believe that more than any other people the Iberians of today are capable of interpreting the East and the West to each other.

It was just after the struggle with the Arabs, who had made important contributions to Spanish life, that those most remarkable of all adventurers, the conquistadors, carried their mighty crusades into America. As most of these Spanish adventurers came from southern Spain — from Cordova, where there were six hundred mosques; from Granada, where the patio dominated architecture; from Andalusia, whose soft pronunciation of the language (as distinguished from that of northern Castile) fixed itself upon all Spanish America — Moorish influence in America was especially pronounced.[2]

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[2] Spanish American pronunciation of Cervantes' tongue is not a corruption, as many people mistakenly believe. It simply follows the standard pronunciation of southern Spain rather than that of central Spain dominated by the province of Castile, whose provincial capital, Madrid, finally became the national capital. In the various provinces of Spain one hears as many different pronunciations of the language as one does in the various countries of America. Nothing is more

THE INDIAN CONTRIBUTION

If the Spaniard who came to America had an international background, so did most of the Indian races with whom he mixed his blood to create the Latin Americans of today. Although uncivilized tribes resembling those with whom our ancestors warred in North America were found by early settlers in parts of the Caribbean coast, in the valley of the Amazon and in the lower plains of South America, nevertheless the greater part of the aboriginal population represented highly developed civilizations which had received contributions, as had the Iberians, from many different cultures. Strange to say, the conquistador, according to the best authorities, found in America a people who, like himself, had originally come from Asia, although probably by way of Bering strait instead of through Arabia and north Africa. Of course, there is as yet no such certainty about the various steps in the development of the American Indian as there is about the Iberian, but it is important to emphasize the fact, made clearer every day by the astonishing discoveries of archeologists in Mexico, Central America and the Andean countries, that here, much earlier than on the Iberian peninsula, a remarkable civilization came into being. Authorities differ greatly on the processes of this development, but if we follow the brilliant young Mexican, Dr. Alfonso Caso, the discoverer of the recent sensational finds in Monte Alba,[3] we have the following outline.

In spite of the great variations in the ancient indigenous cultures of the American continent, certain fundamental characteristics are common alike to the Toltecs and Aztecs of the valley of Mexico, the Mayas of Yucatan and Central America, and the Incas of Peru. Researches indicate that only twice in the history of the race has man, untouched by outside cultural influences, elevated himself from barbarism to civilization. This phenomenon occurred once in the Mediterranean Crescent and

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erroneous than the belief that, because Spanish America follows Andalusian rather than Castilian pronunciation, or because it takes the same liberties as North America in adapting its language to its new world, good Spanish in one country is not recognized as good Spanish in another country, just as is good English.

[3] "Archaeological Work in the Americas," *Pan American Union Bulletin,* Dec., 1934, pp. 868–73.

once again in the region from Mexico to Peru. Profound differences exist between the early Mediterranean and Chinese cultures and the culture of America. For example, as barley, oats, wheat and rice were characteristic of the Old World, so maize was the basic cereal of the New World. Starting from a common archaic basis, two admirable cultures came into being in America: the Mayan in southeastern Mexico and Central America, and the Toltec on the Mexican plateau.

"With consideration for the limitations of their facilities, the Mayas were the greatest race that ever lived on this earth," says Dr. Sylvanus C. Morley, of the Carnegie Institution, a specialist on those people. Few modern cities have more impressive buildings than those carved and painted by Mayan workmen. Some of their pyramids were as tall as our modern ten-story buildings. In their temples wise men devoted themselves to interpreting the will of the gods who would, if pleased, bestow the rainfall and sunshine which insured prosperity. But an angry god might send drought and disease. The Mayans hoped that by studying astronomy they would be able to work out the principles on which the deities operated the universe, and their calendar was more accurate than that used by the Spaniards when the latter arrived in America.

On the central plateau of Mexico were the Toltecs, who came from the north, it is believed, about the eighth century A.D. Their civilization reached its height about the twelfth century. Their great hero, Quetzalcoatl, who ruled in the twelfth century, was a progressive. He captured Chichén Itzá from the Mayas and appropriated much of their culture. He promoted road building and fostered commerce, revived Mayan classical learning, translated the Mayan calendar and mathematics into Mexican. After his death Quetzalcoatl was deified as the powerful Feathered Serpent, god of the winds, and endowed with many other attributes.

The Toltecs were conquered by the greatest warriors of that day, the Aztecs. Spanish writings relating to the conquest of Mexico treat extensively of the people. Recently discovered documents reveal that they had a literature and that at least several hundred volumes of it still exist. Dr. John Hubert Cronyn tells us that after the conquest Spanish priests in their mission schools made transcriptions of Aztec hymns, songs, rituals, legends and other lore — literature which had not been written but was passed on by word of mouth from generation to generation. The students in the Spanish missions took it down on their parchment folios from the lips of pagan priests.

Visitors to the temple of Quetzalcoatl and to the pyramids of the Sun and Moon, not far from Mexico City, will be interested to know that a long epic poem entitled *The Son of Quetzalcoatl* has been discovered. This and other Aztec legends form a collection of sacred literature more extensive and varied than the Bible. There have also been recovered eighteen dictionaries, many manuals of ritual, court songs, ceremonial literature on every phase of social and family life, temple literature, hymns and several volumes describing Aztec science, including treatises on botany, zoology, astrology, astronomy and medicine.

We might think of the Mayas, with their wonderful architecture and their learning, as the Greeks, and of the Aztecs, the great fighters, as the Romans of America. For the statesmen of those early days we must go to South America, where the Incas built up a mighty empire which extended from Ecuador on the north down through Peru and Bolivia to Argentina and Chile in the south. The Inca empire was founded with the conquest of a number of states which occupied the fertile river valleys of the coast and mountain regions of Peru and Bolivia, valleys separated by stretches of arid desert. The recent discoveries made by the Bingham expedition of Yale University and by Dr. Julio César Tello, a native Indian of Peru, show that highly developed civilizations were once centered in the ancient Peruvian city of Chavin, and in the Bolivian city of Tiahuanaco on Lake Titicaca. These civilizations, which flourished through a period covering about the first eight hundred years of the Christian era, were destroyed by wars, epidemics or climatic changes. After them a highly cultured people established its power during the centuries which archeologists designate as the late Chimu period, about 900 to 1400 A.D.[4] But as far back as the beginning of the Christian era a small tribe near Cuzco, the predecessors of the Incas, whose ancestors had probably been subject to the Tiahuanaco empire, began to extend its power over the surrounding Andean groups and later over the powerful coastal peoples.

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[4] *Geographical Review,* Jan., 1927.

As governors, the Incas had all the genius of the Romans, granting the conquered peoples the privilege of retaining certain of their customs, but uniting them in the most extensive communistic system probably ever established up to the time of the Soviet movement in Russia. The land was divided into three parts, one portion for the Inca and his court, one for the priests and one for the people. The livestock and equipment were divided in the same way. Everyone was assigned a particular task. First the fields of the sun god were tilled — those set aside for the support of widows, orphans, the lame, the halt and the blind. Still later the land of the common people was cultivated. Neither overwork nor idleness was permitted. Children were taken by the government and trained for the work or profession for which there was the most need. The two principal laws had to do with work and honesty. The weakness of this remarkable kingdom, where want and greed alike were eliminated or controlled, was that it all centered on the Inca, as the emperor was called. When the Inca Atahualpa was captured by Pizarro, the Spaniards had little difficulty in conquering the whole people, for he alone was accustomed to wield authority and exercise initiative.

So far as race relations are concerned, there is nothing in our growing knowledge of the Incas, the Mayas, the Aztecs or other early American peoples to indicate that race prejudice existed among them. The more recent studies tend to convince scholars that these advanced peoples had a common origin and were all descendants of a widely distributed archaic culture, which as early as 1500 or 2000 B.C. spread from Mexico to Argentina.

The religious beliefs of the Mayas and the Incas indicate the prevalence of a surprising conception of the unity of the universe and of the equality of men as sons of the Most High. Here is a fragment of a religious poem preserved from the Inca period:

> O Pachacamec!
> Thou who hast existed from the beginning
> And who shalt exist until the end,

Powerful and merciful,
Who didst create many by saying,
"Let man be,"
Who defendest us from evil,
And preservest our life and our health,
Art Thou in the sky or upon the earth?
In the clouds or in the deeps?
Hear the voice of him who implores Thee,
And grant him his petitions.
Give us life everlasting,
Preserve us, and accept this our sacrifice.

The splendid civilizations of the Incas and the Aztecs were ruthlessly destroyed by the Spanish conquistador, not because of race prejudice, but because of his desire for gold and for religious dominance. The manner in which the Indian was robbed is illustrated by the well known story of Pizarro's betrayal of the Inca Atahualpa, who was shut in prison until he had compelled his subjects to fill his prison room with gold, and then, when the ransom was collected, was brutally murdered by the Spaniards.

However, as soon as the Inca had been disposed of and his conquerors were assured of their political dominance and freedom to exploit the country's riches, they intermarried with Indian women. Cortés himself chose the attractive Indian princess, La Malinche, for his wife, and gave other beautiful Indian maidens to his comrades-in-arms. How the Spaniard was later even willing to honor the worthy Indian is shown in the life of the great Inca historian and man of letters, Garcilaso de la Vega, who traveled in Spain and finally settled there, where he was accepted as one of the greatest minds of his time. He represented the spiritual blending of the two races, and his history of the Inca empire, his stories of the conquest, and his descriptions of Indian life gave him a high place among the Spaniards. While economically the Indian, from the conquest up to the present, has been terribly exploited by the whites, he has never been socially segregated from them. For the Latin American is neither a Spaniard nor an Indian, but a mestizo — a mixture of the two — when indeed he is not of several bloods. He has no deep interest in keeping track of his racial antecedents, such as has the North American; in Brazil the government has gone so far in discouraging such inquisitiveness that census takers are prohibited from raising the question.

The liberators, on forming the new republics, had no other thought than that the Indians should have the same political rights as the whites. And in most cases they also moved immediately to set the slaves free. But in recognizing the political rights of the Indian they did not, unfortunately, go further and restore his economic rights and encourage him to take his rightful place in the social life of the community. That problem was left for the present generation to face.

The phrase "New Indian" is one often heard today. But it is more than a phrase; it involves a theory of racial fusion, of cultural amalgamation and of national creativeness. The present-day Indian must be regarded not as belonging to a world apart, but as an example of the contrast between Spain and aboriginal America. He must be converted into a new Indian who shall be foremost among all those who labor for the economic and spiritual rehabilitation of the nation. The schoolteacher, the missionary, the engineer, the true government official must all be redeemers of the aborigines — creators of the "New Indian." Moisés Sáenz, who has made important studies of the Indians of Peru and Ecuador, speaks feelingly of the rediscovery of the first Mexicans:

> We saw our Indian, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, a silent mass, naked and hungry by our neglect and our cupidity; yet offering in dumb defiance the gift of his art and tradition. We found him mute — three million not knowing our tongue — we found him lost in the childish nightmare of his folklorish dreaming, uncomprehending of or perhaps indifferent to the white man's civilization.[5]

In Peru many of the most competent students of the subject declare that the Indian is the strongest element in the country, at times actually absorbing the white or mixed elements who come within the Indian community. This is seen as an example of the age-long tenacity of the Andean Indian. No primitive people in any part of the world cling more insistently to the past or, some authorities believe, are more capable of a renaissance of their ancient genius than the Indians of the old Inca empire. The problem thus presented has often been considered one of Indianism versus Peruvianism, but it should not be put in those terms. That the Indians can be nationalized by modern socialized methods is exemplified in the Mexican rural schools which, while making them a part of the nation, conserve the best of their ancient culture.

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[5] *Mexico, An Appraisal and Forecast* (New York, 1929), p. 5.

A visitor to Colombia today becomes aware of a new school of thought which holds that around the Caribbean a tropical race quite distinct from other Latin Americans is being developed. A brilliant young writer of Bogotá, Luis Enrique Osorio, recently published a book dealing with this problem, *Los destinos del trópico* (Bogotá, 1932). Sr. Osorio's thesis is that it is necessary to recognize and to encourage in the American tropics the development, along the line of its own idiosyncrasies, of a new race composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, Indians and Negroes. Such a race will combine the collectivistic temperament of the Indian and the Negro with the individualistic tendencies of the Iberian. Says Sr. Osorio:

> It is around great rivers that civilizations are formed: in ancient times around the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Nile; later around the Mississippi was built an American civilization. The Magdalena river has prevented the breaking-up of Colombia and has given us the little civilization that we have. The Orinoco will help develop the idea of a Grand Colombia, and the Amazon will create a Latin-American civilization, of which one factor will be the zambo types [Negro and Indians] necessary for the conquering of the tropics.

Indeed, when we analyze more closely the peoples of the various countries, we find that each section has its distinctive racial mixture which explains many of its peculiarities. Thus the Argentine gaucho is altogether different from the Chilean, who is the child of the Spanish Basque and the Araucanian Indian and has inherited from each traits which in combination make a new people. And so with the other countries. Fundamentally, however, the Latin American is a mixture of Iberian and Indian, with the addition of the African in tropical sections.

THE MESTIZO

Sixteen different and distinctive mixtures of blood were recognized by law in colonial days, when the Spaniard born in Spain claimed the highest privileges, and the number of rights grew progressively smaller with the dilution of Spanish blood and the fact of native birth, so that the Indian had few or no rights at all. That this distinction was based on political and social, and not on racial differences, is seen in the fact that the American-born sons of Spanish parents, the *criollos,* also suffered many discriminations. Some of the more common terms denoting various mixtures were: *mestizo,* Spanish and Indian; *mulato,* Spanish and Negro; *zambo,* Indian and Negro; *cholo,* mestizo and Indian; *morisco,* Spaniard and mulatto woman; *albino,* Spaniard and morisca woman. All such fine distinctions rapidly disappeared after the founding of the republics. Today there are no legal differences whatsoever and what the foreigner might regard as racial differences are generally due to different cultural levels.

The mestizo is the real Latin American. He *is* the Mexican, the Chilean, the Ecuadorian, the Argentine, etc. In reality, he is much more than a mixture of these two basic stocks. The mestizo is a new spirit embodying the desires and sentiments of a new people, reared in the pioneer atmosphere of the New World. Of course he has been greatly abused by advocates of the "pure race" theory. No doubt the mestizo did tend to separate himself from the mores of both the Iberian and the Indian. Running the risk of all liberals who break away from the strict moral codes of their forefathers, he threatened to end with few restraints of any kind. He was unlike the American of the North, who did not mix with the aborigines but kept his Anglo-Saxon mores and adapted them to a new environment. The mestizo has had to work out his own standards of life. In fact, he is still at it. There are probably some twenty million pure-blooded Indians who must still be brought into this new state, who must pass painfully through the processes which ideally ought to mean taking over the language and the best of the social, economic and political life of the white civilization while contributing to it the best of their own heritage. Here is the great problem which such nations as Mexico, Guatemala, Peru and Bolivia are planning to solve in an earnest and enlightened way. The problem as it early presented itself in Guatemala is well described in *Maria Paluna,* the story by Blair Niles.

The strength of the Quiché Indian character, and its contribution to the mestizo of Central America, indicate the power of such native stocks to build a better America.

Just as these Indian countries have the problem of continuing to *mesticise,* so Brazil and various Caribbean countries are carrying forward the absorption of the Negroes into the general body politic of the nation.

This, however, is only a part of the racial picture of America, for as Silva Valdés says in his poem "America":

América no es solo un poncho de colores
Ni un indio ni cachorro
Ni un gaucho ni un rodeo.
La América presente, la América futura
Es todo eso, cierto, pero eso es la mitad.
La otra mitad es el gringo
América: taller donde se está plasmando,
Con modelos indigenos y criollos y gringos,
La nueva flor racial para el pecho del mundo.

Or in English:

America is not simply a poncho of colors,
Not all Indian, not all tramp,
Nor yet a gaucho nor a rodeo.
America today, America tomorrow
Is all this, yes; but that is only the half.
The other half is gringo America:
A workshop where is being formed,
With indigenous, creole and foreign models,
A new racial flower to adorn the breast of the world.

THE NEGRO STRAIN

To the Indian and Iberian strains must be added, for Brazil and the tropical section of the Caribbean countries, the African element, once slave, but now free and accepted as equal by the other elements. It is interesting to note that the large importation of slaves came about through the appeal of Padre Las Casas, the celebrated "Protector of the Indians," who thought to mitigate the terrible abuses which the Indians suffered as laborers by replacing them with slave Negro labor.

Here again the whites intermarried with the Negroes, and in spite of great economic abuses there has been little discrimination against the Negroes as a race. Today, outside of the prejudice introduced and maintained by the Anglo-Saxon residents in Latin America, there is practically no "color bar," either legal or social.

Indeed, the Negro has a high place in the life of Latin-American countries. While the rest of the Western world was still practicing slavery, Haiti in 1803 led the nations by setting the Negro free. Since that date Haiti, as an independent "black man's republic," has occupied a respectable place among the Latin-American nations, with an elite of culture in Port au Prince comparable to that in European capitals. Haiti sent troops both to the United States in the war for freedom from Great Britain, and to South America in the war against Spain. A company of Haitian black troops fought side by side with our forefathers at the siege of Savannah. Later, after having given a generous asylum at Port au Prince to General Bolívar, temporarily defeated by the Spanish, Haiti sent much-needed recruits to Venezuela, and there played an important part in winning the freedom of Gran Colombia.

In debating the question of race development in the Caribbean, the old schools of thought took one of two positions: that the white race was the only strong one and the important problem was how to transfer European civilization to these lands; or that the Indian blood was the strongest and in the pure Indian lay the hope of the future. Both schools regarded the Negro as inferior. More recently, however, there has arisen a new school which believes that the Negro strain is of great importance for the development of brilliancy and contentment in the two haughty and austere types represented by the Spaniard and the Indian. In considering this thesis, one remembers that the two most gifted men of Latin America, ranking high among the geniuses of the nineteenth century, were born in the Caribbean — Simón Bolívar of Venezuela and Rubén Darío of Nicaragua. Both probably had Negro blood, although it has often been considered unpatriotic to say so — this no doubt because of the desire of the Latin American to appear well in the eyes of the European and the North American.

Because the Negro had long been a constant and faithful friend to the white man and shared with him the deprivations and suffering of the tropics, the master often received the slave into his house to participate fully in whatever life afforded. The Negro, with his resiliency, showed himself able to endure slavery and through miscegenation to conquer his conqueror. The Negro has something that the white lacks, *el genio del trópico*. His formula of a happy attitude toward life has also proved a more efficient means of resistance than has the Indian's stoicism and ignoring of pain. Perhaps the best type should have Negro blood in small proportion and should inherit the intellectual makeup of the European in order to restrain the carefree attitude of the Africans.

The frank recognition of the good qualities of the Negro and the open advocacy of the advantages of miscegenation made by various South American writers will undoubtedly shock the advocates of the theory of white supremacy. But while there are some Ibero-Americans who join the Northerners in their theory of white superiority, the fact is that outside of the sub-tropical region of the Caribbean the Negro minority is rapidly disappearing through absorption into the general population. In countries like Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and even Peru and Mexico, where African slaves formerly abounded, a black skin is a novelty. There are no accurate studies of the Negro population in the Caribbean areas to determine what is the present tendency, although the author's definite impression is that there is a gradual lessening of the pure African strain.

III

THE SECOND INVASION—POPULATION TENDENCIES

TO GET a complete picture of the race situation in Hispanic America we must consider not only the three primary strains, Iberian, Indian and African, but must also take into account what the Argentine sociologist, José Ingenieros, in a study of his own race, calls "the second invasion." Broadening this term, we may apply it to the movement that brought to all Latin America during the nineteenth century a large immigration from Europe and Asia comparable to that coming at the same time to the United States. It was especially heavy in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. The last two are the South American countries which may be considered as overwhelmingly white, containing as they do about half the white population of all Latin America. They are therefore to be regarded as racially separate from the dominantly Indian lands of Mexico, Central America and the Andean countries, or the lands with important Negro populations such as Brazil and the Caribbean region.

Latin-American countries have always welcomed immigrants. In the early days Bolívar declared:

> We ought to induce immigration of the peoples of North America and Europe, in order that they may settle here and bring us their arts and sciences. These advantages, namely, an independent government, free schools, and intermarriage with Europeans and Anglo-Americans, will totally change the character of the country and will render it well informed and prosperous. . . . We lack mechanics and agriculturalists and it is these that the country needs to insure advancement and progress.

One of the most distinguished of Argentines, Juan Bautista Alberdi, who advocated the outlawry of war nearly a century before the Kellogg Pact was signed and wrote learnedly about populations and governments, declared: "To govern is to populate." This has been the philosophy of the best of the

Latin-American leaders. It is impossible to develop the right kind of government, education and social relationships where the population is but eight or ten to the square mile. Schools are difficult to organize, social consciousness is impossible to develop. Highways and railroads can hardly be afforded, markets are not available, and governments find it impossible to assert direct control. Against all of these difficulties Latin-American countries have had to struggle. That is why they have welcomed immigration. They have given much assistance to settlers, in some instances going so far as to provide steamship passage from the homeland and transportation and maintenance within their borders to the final destination. In some countries additional subsidies are granted for the purchase of animals and of implements for working the soil. Argentina has a great immigrant hotel, a model of cleanliness and sanitation, which can accommodate five thousand people. Moving pictures depicting the life and resources of the country provide entertainment as well as instruction for the guests.

There are four chief difficulties in the way of immigration in Latin America. One is the system of great landed estates prevalent in most of these countries — in some cases one can travel for days within the limits of a single estate. The absentee landlords, with an income sufficient to keep them in luxury in the cities, have little incentive for intensive development of their lands. The immigrant can find a place only as a day laborer, or at best can become, precariously, a renter. This is no doubt a principal reason why more than two million of the immigrants who came to Argentina during the last seventy years have returned to their homes. Similar landed estates exist in practically all Latin-American countries. Mexico is the only one that has taken serious measures to break them up. Her object, however, is not to attract outsiders, but to provide better livelihood for her own people. In fact, Mexico is one of the very few Latin-American countries which have little interest in attracting outsiders, except tourists; she prefers to concentrate her attention on bettering the condition of her own citizens.

Another detriment to immigration has been the recurrence, in most of the Latin-American countries, of revolutions which result in the destruction of social life and progress, especially in less densely populated areas. A third is the lack of educational facilities in many new territories; for Latin America has given little attention to rural education. Mexico is now leading in this direction, but at her present rate of development it will take years to make any deep impression on the mass of her population.

A fourth factor in discouraging the immigrant is the lack in most of these countries of good titles to land holdings. This condition arises from the importation of the old Spanish law into the New World. Often the legal processes for acquiring permanent titles are not clear, and the right of eminent domain has remained more largely in the consciousness of the people than it has in older, more accurately surveyed areas of the world. It may happen that a man develops a tract of land only to find after years of litigation that his title is not good.

TYPES OF IMMIGRANTS

In South America, Italian immigrants exceed in numbers those of any other nationality. Buenos Aires has become a greater Italian city than Rome. Brazil has over two million people of Italian descent and more than a million in the state of São Paulo alone. The Italian population is easily assimilable. The Spaniards, of course, are found in large proportion in all these lands except Brazil, where the Portuguese formed the original basis of the population. Spaniards and Portuguese still continue to come. The Germans form strong groups, especially in southern Brazil and in Chile; they are found, however, throughout the continent and are increasing in numbers. The English, Scotch and Irish form comparatively small groups but are very influential. In the early records of the struggle for independence from Spain, Nelson, Edward, O'Higgins and many similar names appear frequently; today among railway, bank and business interests many leaders are of British descent. The " word of an Englishman " is equivalent to our " word of honor."

Poles, Russians and people of the Balkans are scattered through sections of eastern South America. The Japanese are particularly strong in Brazil and in Peru. Chinese are found chiefly in Mexico, Peru, Panama and Cuba. In Habana there are reported to be about eighty thousand Chinese, mostly Cantonese, many of whom have been stranded there in a vain attempt to enter the United States. There are between 160,000 and 180,000 Mohammedans from the Near East and India in South America, thirty thousand of whom are in Central Brazil and the Amazon basin.

Mexico had a population, according to the 1930 census, of 16,550,742, with only 154,757 foreigners: 12,273 from the United States; 12,667 British; 47,239 Spanish; and 23,275 Asiatic. There are fewer foreigners in Mexico now than before the revolution of 1910 when, for example, United States citizens there were estimated at forty thousand.

The five republics of Central America, with a population of about six million, are largely mestizo (*ladino* is the local term). The foreign colonies are small, that of the Germans in Guatemala being the largest. Over half the population of Guatemala is composed of pure-blooded Indians. Costa Rica, 95 per cent of whose people are whites, is a progressive country with a very small amount of illiteracy. Colombia is third largest in population of the South American states, a recent estimate recording nearly nine million. The largest single element is the mestizo; uncivilized Indians are estimated at 158,428. There is a considerable number of zambos in the coastal regions. White persons of fairly pure stock are widely scattered over the country, particularly in the interior plateaus. A modern immigration movement has touched in a very small way Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador.

Peru has not had an accurate census for a long time; its population is about six million. Japanese and Chinese immigrants came to Peru in the middle of the last century to work on the coastal plantations, and since that time immigration has decreased. At present, however, Japanese influence is markedly on the increase. The regular trips of the Japanese liners always bring additions to the colony. The finest new school in Lima is Japanese. The colony is well organized and is reported to contain twenty thousand well trained military men. The barber business is only one line of trade which is being dominated by the Nipponese. Of Peru's population less than

10 per cent are pure white and about 60 per cent are pure Indian.

Chileans are a hearty race, largely composed of a mixture of Spaniards and Indians; the pure Indians number today about one hundred thousand. In 1920, the last complete census, Chile had 45,763 foreigners out of a population of about four million. Among these, 24,775 were Spanish, 11,535 Italians and 8,561 Germans. There has been a very small influx of Germans since then and the intermarriage of Germans with Chilean women has increased German influence considerably. Chile has practically no race problem. (Her census of 1930 estimates total population at 4,287,445.)

Bolivia, with an estimated population of three million, is overwhelmingly Indian and has received very few immigrants from European countries. The official estimate in 1929 divided the population into 1,586,650 Indians, 962,000 mestizos, 426,200 whites. Several recently projected immigration schemes have been failures. White people do not easily become acclimated in the very high altitude, while colonies in the fertile lowland adjoining Brazil await improved transportation.

Paraguay claims one million inhabitants, a liberal estimate. Its population is largely mestizo, most of whom speak the Guarani language. Considerable effort has been made to secure colonies of foreigners but such effort has usually not been successful. The Chaco War has awakened greater interest in the problem of increasing the population and the government is now making efforts to secure European, Canadian and Japanese immigrants.

Uruguay now claims a population approaching two million. It has been more largely influenced by immigration than any other Latin-American country. Foreigners have been allowed to become Uruguayans without renouncing their original nationality. Much study has been given to the problem of providing proper educational and economic advantages for the people, who include a considerable overflow from Argentina and Brazil, with the Spanish, Italian and German colonies forming an important part of the population.

REMNANTS OF COLONIAL VENTURES

Remnants of recent colonizing ventures, begun in high enthusiasm but gradually fading into failure, are found in many parts of Latin America. One of these is the Australian Socialist Colony in Paraguay, the result of a shearers' strike in Australia, when the men who were defeated in the strike accepted the leadership of the Lane brothers and formed a socialist colony in the Mesopotamia of South America. Since the Paraguayan government was eager for immigration, it made a grant of a large tract of land and gave practical autonomy to the colony. The Australian workers pooled all their money, chartered the steamship *Royal Tar*, and started on a genuine socialist experiment. However, when some of them went ashore at Montevideo and returned to the ship drunk, complaints were made that they had not put all of their money into the pool. Then the difficulties began. Since the majority of the colonists would not remain in Paraguay, the original government concession could not be retained and another one, known as "New Australia," was secured to be worked on individualistic lines. The insistent socialists started another colony at Cosme under the leadership of Lane. Today only a few dozen people remain in each place and they have intermarried with the natives; the great majority worked their way back to Australia. Most of the colonies started in Brazil by disappointed Southerners after the Civil War in the United States had a similar sad history.

Many of the colonization movements were real-estate ventures. In Peru the period of Leguía's dictatorship was noted for these schemes, one of which brought from Glasgow and Edinburgh large numbers of tenement dwellers who remained around Lima and Callao until they almost starved and then worked their way back home as best they could. A more ambitious scheme which caught a great number of innocent investors was announced by a North American concern that claimed to have a concession of twelve and a half million acres and a contract to build a railway from the Pacific ocean to the Amazon.

The international disputes over the Chaco and the Leticia areas have had in the background certain immigration issues. Take, for instance, the concession of 120,000 square miles in the Chaco granted by Bolivia in 1926 to a British company which included Sir Martin Conway, the famous mountaineer. Disgraceful financing brought failure to this enterprise. Likewise, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma secured a lease for ninety-nine years on 18,000 hectares of land in Bolivia and expected to enlist a large number of American families to open roads, establish telegraph lines and develop a modern colony. A few families arrived, but after many trials returned home. The Bolivian Colonization Association of Portland, Oregon, organized in 1921, had a bad record and was sued by the United States government for fraudulent use of the mails. The nearest available market to the land, which it sold for $2.50 an acre, seems to have been about three hundred miles away.

One of the outstanding ironies of history is the trick that fate has played on the Mennonites who, as extreme pacifists, were seeking a place where they could be sure they would not be bothered by war. They picked out the heart of South America, the Chaco of Paraguay, and made the long trek from the cold prairies of western Canada and Russia to the tropical plains of Paraguay. Their coming was heralded as comparable to the movement of the Pilgrim Fathers aboard the *Mayflower*. But a few years after they had settled in the heart of the Chaco, Bolivia claimed that territory, and they found themselves on the edge of "no man's land" where Bolivia and Paraguay were fighting with modern armaments the most terrific battles ever waged in South America. Press reports recently stated that these colonists were preparing to leave Paraguay, but this is not true. I talked with some of them in Asunción recently and found them in better spirits than formerly because they could sell their produce to the armies. The land granted by the Paraguayan government consists of about three million unusually fertile acres some hundred miles west of the Paraguay river. The wild Indians of the region were the only neighbors of the Mennonites until the war began. The government gave the settlers a most unusual charter guaranteeing them the right to follow their own religion and conduct their churches and schools in their own languages (mostly German and Russian), exemption from military service and from taking oath, and the absolute control of all domestic questions within the colony.

The Boers of south Africa started a colony at Chubut in southern Argentina after the Boer War, but it has dwindled until now it numbers only about eight hundred, many members having moved to Buenos Aires or to other industrial centers. This does not seem to bear out the impression so strangely prevalent in the imagination of many foreigners of that region's remarkable possibilities.

The Waldensian colony in Uruguay is notable for the fine quality of citizenship it has contributed to that republic. The first of the Protestants came from their homes in the Italian mountains in 1856. Now numbering about twelve thousand, the colony has furnished some of the most distinguished members of the secular professions and of the Protestant ministry in Uruguay.

The Jewish Colonization Association of Argentina, with headquarters in Paris, is bringing a steady stream of Jewish colonists into northern Argentina, and a lesser number into southern Brazil. An announcement of the association states:

> After thirty years' experience in Canada, Poland, Palestine, etc., we have become convinced that Israelites receive in no other part of the world the hospitable welcome and the promising results from their work that they receive in South America. The association has secured about 314,374 acres of arable land in that country and has a total property of about one and a half million acres.

The association is now endeavoring to secure good land near industrial centers like Rosario, where colonists can work for wages and can also cultivate truck-gardens to supply the nearby communities.

ARGENTINA BECOMES WHITE

The influence of modern immigration on South America can best be seen through a study of the population problem in Argentina. The complete transformation of Argentina from a mestizo country into a white one took place in the nineteenth century. It was led by a group of remarkable men like Sarmiento, Alberdi and Mitre, who believed, as Sarmiento in his books *Facundo* and *Conflicto y armonías de las razas en América* points out, that the gaucho, the mestizo with predominant Indian blood, must be overruled by the Euro-Argentine — the latter reinforced by the introduction of large additional streams of European immigrants.

José Ingenieros in his *Sociología argentina* gives tables and graphs of population growth.[1] He shows that in 1852 the Argentine federation had 800,000 people with 553,000 mestizos, 100,000 Indians, 15,000 Negroes and 110,000 mulattos. By 1914 it had 7,885,237 people, with the racial ratios so far changed that four million were whites, one million mestizos, 200,000 mulattos and 20,000 Indians. The 1932 estimate of Argentina's population is given at 11,846,655, with only one million non-whites.

It was during the two administrations of President Roca that immigration was most active. During his first year of office in 1880, 27,000 foreigners came to Argentina; by 1889 a high point was reached when 219,000 were received. General Roca, before he became president, had led in a campaign to eliminate the Indians which resulted in their being reduced to a small number huddled in the north. The seizure of Indian property marked the beginning of a period of great prosperity. The government came into the possession of many square miles of farm and pasture lands, much of which it divided among the soldiers who had engaged in the campaign and the politicians who had advertised it. The value of the land quickly multiplied. Capital poured into the country and new developments in steam navigation brought Europe nearer. Export of grain increased and Argentina gained the reputation of being one of the richest countries in the world. In spite of financial crises and political upheavals the reports of continuous prosperity brought European immigrants in steady streams until the outbreak of the World War. Recently, immigration from central Europe has not been sufficient to affect the evolution of the country.

Dr. Alejandro Bunge in his *Seventy Years of Argentine Immigration* points out that of the 5,740,000 immigrants entering the country during that period, Italians and Spaniards constituted 79.6 per cent. The Italians alone constituted as much as 45 per cent of this figure, but they were also the most inclined to return to the homeland. In fact, the passing of Italians and Spaniards back and forth across the Atlantic led to the use of the term *golondrina* or "swallow" immigrant. Although Italian merchants are noted for winning fortunes and returning to their native land, they are not the only ones who do this. I remember a few years ago meeting in the far-away village of Bethlehem, Palestine, a shopkeeper who had amassed a fortune in Argentina and then returned home to enjoy himself.

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[1] Table 2, Appendices.

This does not mean to say that Argentina has not made a great success of absorbing the foreigner. The children of immigrants are the most enthusiastic citizens the republic has. About one-third of the population is foreign-born, but no uneasiness is felt about their loyalty to their adopted country. Proofs of this loyalty have been evident in many ways: in the formation of foreign legions when war against Argentina was threatened; in the response to internal loans floated by the government; in artistic and financial donations on special occasions; and in continuous public and private declarations backed by deeds which show every confidence in the nation.

Argentina is thus forming a robust race of the many different nationalities, led by the three Latin groups — the Italians, the Spaniards, the French — followed by the English, Germans, Swiss, Austrians, Poles, Scandinavians and Slavs, in the order named. Says José Ingenieros:

> A new Argentine race is being formed by a combination of social and psychological variations which the Argentines impose on Europeans who come to live in our land. There is an Argentine tradition. It is not indigenous, neither is it colonial: it was born with our nationality; it was enriched by our thinkers; it plays on new generations. All who speak of *argentinidad* refer to the future, never speaking of yesterday but always of tomorrow. We conceive of *argentinidad* as a new sentiment which the nascent race in this part of the world may imprint on human experiences and on ideals.[2]

Ricardo Rojas, the distinguished intellectual leader, in his *History of Argentine Literature* insists that regardless of all

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 469.

contributions from the outside his country maintains a virile national sentiment in which there is much of the gaucho spirit.

In spite of the declaration of the Constitution that the country is open to all people, government officials have recently contrived restrictions which have pretty well closed the gates to immigrants. The theory still prevails, even among some of the "liberals," that Argentina must continue to be a country of vast estates in which the workers have no part except as the law of supply and demand relates them to a laborer's job.

Twelve million people, occupying the tremendous area of 2,951,000 square kilometers — this is the present picture, outside the great city of Buenos Aires with a fifth of the country's population, of the great empty plains, more sparsely settled than those of Texas or Australia. If "to govern is to populate," Argentina has a long way to go in developing a satisfactory situation.

RACIAL EXPERIMENT IN GIANT BRAZIL

Brazil is making probably the most interesting experiment in race mixture of any nation in the world. She is deliberately setting out to absorb by miscegenation all peoples within her borders, which include at one extreme a large number of Negroes who came as slaves from Africa, and at the other an increasing number of Japanese who total at the present writing about one hundred and eighty thousand. A leading Brazilian scientist predicts that within fifty years all of the African population will have been absorbed.

In the eighteenth century Brazil brought in about two million slaves. Toward the beginning of the nineteenth century she realized the evils of slavery and began to eliminate them. In 1830 immigration of Negroes was stopped. Thirty years later a law was passed which declared that the children of slaves would be free. Later, slaves who had reached the age of seventy were freed, so that in 1888 when Brazil was ready to eliminate slavery completely there were only about four hundred thousand slaves left. The pure Africans are estimated today at about five million, living in the north-central part of Brazil, especially in the state of Bahia. That population is getting whiter with each decade. In southern Brazil nearly half a million Germans are becoming lost in the Brazilian population, as are a million and a half Italians in the state of São Paulo. The consul general of Brazil in New York City said not long ago when he was asked about the difference between treatment of Japanese in California and in Brazil: "In California they seem to be afraid that Japanese will intermarry with the nationals; in Brazil we are afraid they will not." In a recent Rio de Janeiro beauty contest, the state of Rio Grande was represented by a perfect type of German, while the charming *señorita* from the central state of Bahia was distinctly negroid, and Miss Pará from the north looked quite English. Fourteen other sections were represented by as many different racial types. All were equally good Brazilians.

The population of Brazil in 1936 was estimated at more than forty-seven million. Around eighteen hundred it was less than four million. Brazil has doubled its population about every thirty years. The pure Indian element of the population is extremely small, the estimate of some competent authorities putting it as low as ninety-seven thousand.[3] It is largely confined to the least accessible regions of the Amazon hinterland and does not play an important part in the Brazilian civilization. Due to their higher mortality rate and the gradual transference of their offspring to the mestizo class, the Indians like the Negroes have been steadily decreasing. The whites maintain their numerical superiority, both by a greater proportional natural increase and by the influx of immigration.

Brazil's great need, since it became an independent nation in 1822, has been for man power to develop its enormous resources. This need led the *bandeirantes* to enslave the Indians, later resulted in the importation of vast numbers of African slaves, and finally furnished the impulse for the influx of immigration which since the middle of the last century has assumed large proportions. While during the three decades up to 1850 the number of immigrants barely exceeded 15,000, it jumped in the next decade to 121,747. The greatest influx during any period came in the years following the establishment of the republic in 1890, and in the years from 1891 to 1900 there came 1,143,902 immigrants. The figures for the first three decades of the twentieth century are: 1901 to 1910, 698,159; 1911 to 1920, 818,231; 1921 to 1930, 870,153.

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[3] The best recent discussion of this problem is by K. G. Grubb, *Lowland Indians of Amazonia* (London, 1929).

The Brazilian government has, until very recently, attempted by several means to attract immigration and the influx of an extraordinary variety of peoples has been the result of a studied policy inaugurated by the empire and continuing to the present time.

One of the first attempts at colonization on a large scale was the introduction of Swiss settlers by Emperor Dom João in 1817. They formed the settlement of Nova Friburgo. About 1825 Germans started to come into Rio Grande do Sul. Dom Pedro II in 1851 founded the flourishing German colony of Blumenau in the state of Santa Catharina. The German immigration has continued unabated for half a century.

Italian immigration has assumed large proportions since 1880; now the Italians are the most numerous of any single nationality. Most of them are settled in the coffee-growing centers of São Paulo. Poles and Russians, entering in considerable numbers since 1870, have established extensive settlements in the state of Paraná. Portuguese and Spaniards also form an important part of the immigration.

Figures published by the Brazilian government total the number of immigrants from 1820 to 1931 at 4,549,869, divided as follows: Italians, 1,492,879; Portuguese, 1,350,027; Spaniards, 588,311; Germans, 209,923; Russians, 115,465; Japanese, 106,276; Austrians, 92,108; Turks, 82,595; all others, 512,285. These figures show an overwhelming preponderance of Mediterranean peoples — Italians, Spanish and Portuguese — who comprise more than 75 per cent of all immigrants who have entered Brazil. From 1820 to 1907 the Italian immigration was double that of the Portuguese and three times that of the Spaniards. But from 1908 to 1930 the number of Portuguese immigrants was about 707,000 and the Spanish, 298,000, while the Italians amounted to only 276,000.

This stream of immigration from every quarter of the globe has dwindled in the last few years and threatens to cease flowing altogether, for the time being at least. Owing to the worldwide depression, Brazil in common with other countries has been compelled to check the influx of foreigners. In 1931 only 31,410 entered — less than during any year after 1880, except for the first years of the war.

Japanese immigration, a development of the last thirty years, has assumed larger proportions recently. In 1913 a syndicate was organized in Tokyo which received a concession of twelve million acres of coastal land to form an Oriental agricultural colony. This colony was introduced only after careful experiments had been made to prepare the soil. Since that time this colonization has been continued under careful supervision by technicians of both governments.

Japanese labor is employed extensively in the coffee areas of São Paulo. Recently a considerable settlement was established to cultivate rubber in Pará. Some ten thousand Japanese are found in the principal cities, employed chiefly as house servants. In 1930, 14,076 Japanese entered Brazil, their number being exceeded only by the Portuguese. In 1931 also they ranked second with 5,632 immigrants. However, in 1934 there were in round numbers 160,000 Japanese in the whole country — an indication that this much discussed group is not likely to have a very extensive influence on the total population. In spite of the drastic limitation placed on immigration by the Constitution of 1934, the Japanese are continuing to enter in considerable numbers as agricultural laborers. It seems quite probable that the great clamor for farm workers will mean the reformation of article 121 which limits Japanese immigrants to between two and three thousand per year. Since European dictators desire to keep their populations at home for military reasons, the Japanese are one of the few sources of the supply needed by Brazilian agriculturists. The state of São Paulo alone demands sixty thousand farm laborers a year, and it has learned that the Japanese are good hands.

NATIONALISM IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The nationalists won a complete victory for their exclusionist policy in the federal Constitution promulgated July 16, 1934. The unqualified authority of the federal government over all matters relating to immigration was asserted, "with the possibility of prohibition, total, or in relation to origin" (article 5, XIXg). Immigration is to be limited on a basis which will give the necessary guarantees of "ethnic integration and the physical and civil capacity of the immigrant." The most important provision is the fixing of future national quotas: "the immigratory flow from each country may not . . . exceed annually the limit of 2 per cent on the total number of the respective nationals permanently settled in Brazil during the last fifty years" (article 121, section 6). More drastic still were the limitations placed on the practice of professions, providing that with a few exceptions

> of international reciprocity, liberal professions may be practiced only by native-born Brazilians and naturalized Brazilians who have rendered military service to Brazil; and the revalidation of professional diplomas issued by foreign educational institutions is not permitted except to native-born Brazilians [article 133].

These drastic limitations are the results of the determined agitation of a small minority of nationalists and exclusionists led by the fascist political party known as *Integralismo* and the group known as *Sociedad de Amigos de Alberto Torres*.[4] One of the announced aims of the latter group is to combat what it calls "the yellow peril" for Brazil.

Many well informed and serious Brazilians, however, are completely opposed to the aims of the *Amigos de Alberto Torres*. Asserting that life is a real spirit of assimilation, Julio de Rivoredo, in a thoughtful study, argues strongly in favor of the Japanese rather than of such nationalities as the Italian and German, because of the declared purpose of the Japanese government (carried out in practice, he claims, in Brazil) of assimilating with the Brazilians, and the equally strong declarations of the other two governments that their colonies in foreign lands should conduct themselves as "small fatherlands."[5] Sr. Rivoredo criticizes article 121 and argues for immediate reform which would not limit immigration along national lines, but would rather admit only the agriculturists Brazil needs so sorely, whatever their nationality. He shows the absurdity of his country's following the example of the United States, not only because of Brazil's different economic situation, but also because of the racial superiority theory of the Northern republic.

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[4] Alberto Torres was a Brazilian statesman who did much to awaken Brazil to an appreciation of her great opportunities. His name is wrongly used today by supernationalists. For an analysis of his ideas one of his best books is *Organização nacional brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1920). He says: "The illusion that for our present mixture of population should be substituted a pure European type, should disappear. Indians, Africans and their descendants form definite types admirably adapted to our physical environment." (P. 152.)

[5] *Immigração* (São Paulo, 1934), pp. 164–67. This book contains the text of the latest legislation on immigration.

To the fact that Brazil is one of the greatest melting pots in the world every writer on the subject bears witness. Nevertheless, there still remain large bodies of immigrant groups which offer a certain amount of resistance to assimilation. It must be kept in mind that the intermingling of the basic stocks, Indian, Portuguese and Negro, has been going on for four centuries, while other immigration is a matter of only the last seventy-five years, and in the case of the Japanese less than a third of that.

One of the greatest obstacles to the complete fusion of the various racial elements lies in the large settlements of single nationalities in which native language and customs are allowed to be preserved intact. This was the case, as has already been noted, with some of the large Japanese colonies founded in São Paulo.

It is conceded that because of their close racial similarities the Italians should be most easily assimilated. Their language also, being intimately related to the Portuguese, would facilitate intermingling. It appears rather strange, therefore, to find that, according to some writers, the Italians resist fusion because of their attachment to their native land. However, many Italians have become interested in manufacturing enterprises and, apart from those who have remained in segregated agricultural colonies, have become closely identified with Brazilian life.

The German colonists in the three southern states, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina and Paraná, compose one of the largest elements to withstand assimilation. They have formed compact communities in which the German language is used almost exclusively in schools and religious services and may even be the official language of the municipal councils. A traveler tells of inquiring his way from a coal-black citizen on the road, to find that the man spoke only German! These German colonists are Brazilian citizens but they usually exert little political influence, forming almost a state within a state.

The intermingling of racial elements in Brazil is being accelerated today by the government's studied policy of assimilation. The government holds out added inducement to those colonists who marry Brazilian wives.

There are, of course, barriers to racial intermingling of religion and of social position, but where objections have been raised to certain types of immigrant, these are usually based on economic rather than racial considerations.

There can be little doubt that despite temporary setbacks immigration to Brazil will continue to increase. With its vast stretches of fertile soil capable of supporting a dense population, Brazil must necessarily attract the peoples of overcrowded Europe and the Orient. Its population, which has a density of less than fourteen per square mile, can be trebled before approaching that of the United States with forty-one per square mile. To reach that of England, with its more than six hundred persons per square mile, Brazil would have to have a population of about two billion, more than the total number of the world's present population. Resembling in territory and economic resources the United States more closely than does any other Latin-American country, Brazil will also follow more closely than its neighbors our economic history — the conquest of the West with large immigration which in turn will encourage industrialization. Disregarding fantastic calculations based on other countries that are differently situated and that attained their growth when the world faced different conditions, it is obvious that Brazil is just now emerging as the largest Latin country in the world, having already passed France and now rapidly forging ahead of Italy.

HITLERISM AND SOUTH AMERICA

That Latin America will have difficulty in maintaining its doctrine of race equality is illustrated by the tremendous efforts being made to introduce the Hitler conception of races. This propaganda entered South America through the embassies, legations and consulates of Germany. Clubs, schools, commercial and cultural organizations conducted by German colonies or influenced by them were rent in twain by the struggle between Hitlerites and anti-Hitlerites for their control. The swastika flag is flown above the German schools, clubs and cultural societies, and every German ship in South American harbors displays it. Many newspapers, new and old, are conducted under the sign of the swastika.

This development of Hitlerism is bringing about a persecution of the Jews who hitherto enjoyed, with only a few minor exceptions, the same fraternal treatment as other races. There are 293,474 Jews in South America and 16,000 in Mexico.

By far the largest Jewish group is found in Argentina, numbering 225,000, thus making this country the world's twelfth in Jewish population. In Buenos Aires there are four Jewish banks, the largest being the *Banco Popular Israelita* of Buenos Aires, which has 4,422 members and a capital of $1,101,800. There are two daily papers in Yiddish and numerous reviews. In literature the Jews are represented by a number of the most talented writers in the Spanish language. They have nine professors in the University of Buenos Aires. There are about one hundred and fifty physicians and seventy-five dentists. In the religious world the Israelites are represented by four large congregations; two of these have particularly beautiful synagogues.

Many Jewish leaders in Buenos Aires are unselfishly devoting themselves to building up the country and to charitable work, and are in every way showing themselves good citizens. Their large hospitals, soup-kitchens and other institutions for the care of the unemployed are conducted in a model way. Their cultural institutions are doing much for music, art and literature, in which fields a number of Jewish leaders are active. One of these organizations was responsible for bringing Dr. Albert Einstein to lecture in Argentina, where he received a tremendous welcome.

During 1934 the nazis in Argentina carried on a campaign, which aroused much anger, of bombing and of breaking up Jewish and socialist meetings. Three small reactionary dailies published in Buenos Aires defend the conservative government and preach hatred of the Jews as dangerous radicals and commercial competitors.

There are about forty thousand Jews in Brazil, some thirty thousand of them having arrived since the World War. They are mostly in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, except for the colonies established in Rio Grande do Sul by the Jewish Colonization Society. German groups in Brazil have succeeded in arousing considerable opposition to the Jews in spite of the protest of leading Brazilians. In Uruguay practically all the five thousand Jews are found in the city of Montevideo, which is proud of the commercial and residential districts where Jews enjoy the liberties and social privileges which Uruguay offers to all its residents. In Chile there are reported to be two thousand two hundred Jews and in Peru less than one thousand. In Colombia, where there are some eight thousand Jews, the district of Antioquia is famous for its early Jewish settlers and has given these inhabitants a name for being the keenest merchants in the whole country. In Guatemala some of the best known economic leaders are German Jews.

Government officials of the leading Latin-American countries, in response to inquiries made by the author, almost unanimously agreed that Jewish refugees from Germany would be welcome if they were financially backed as colonists able to settle on the land. There would be room also for a few industrial experts who could improve the technique of small factories, now increasing in these countries, and aid railroad, agricultural and other economic interests. Ecuador has granted over a million acres of land for Jewish colonization, and Peru, Guatemala and Santo Domingo are among other countries offering liberal terms for agricultural settlers. So far as professional men are concerned outsiders are distinctly not wanted. But universities and technical departments of governments showed themselves anxious to obtain eminent representatives of science and culture from among the refugee German scholars.

While there is at present much nationalism in the South which, as the author discovered during this inquiry, works against immigration in general, it seldom applies to the intellectual. Happily, culture in Latin America is still regarded as the *summum bonum* of humanity and *maestro* is the highest title that can be conferred on any individual. One finds in intellectual circles scarcely any trace of anti-Semitism.

In the present world-wide agitation over the question of race, it is particularly regrettable that foreign countries should desire to transfer their own prejudices to Latin America, as Germany has done, and, it must be admitted, as the United States has also done by importing its prejudice against the Negroes into Puerto Rico, Cuba and other Caribbean areas. One can only hope that the intellectuals will be able to maintain that attitude of respect for all personality which has ever been one of the glories of the Ibero-Americans.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND NATIONALISM

The last few years have seen a reaction against immigration in Latin America, due to the great unemployment. There has been a tendency to imitate the United States in severely limiting the entrance of those who might take work from nationals.

In 1930–33 there were outbreaks in Mexico against Chinese and Jewish immigrants. The Chinese on the west coast were subjected to the most inhumane treatment, large numbers being killed in the course of a deliberate drive to eliminate them from the economic field. New labor laws affect also immigration, rigorously restricting the entrance of foreigners and demanding that 90 per cent of the employees of industrial establishments in Mexico shall be natives. The restrictions against foreign clericals are most stringent, no foreigner being permitted to enter the country with the intention of preaching or acting in any religious capacity. Today most of the formerly numerous ordained Protestant missionaries from the United States have retired from Mexico, and hundreds of Roman Catholic priests have gone to the Belgian Congo, Europe, South America and other lands.

Mexico's new immigration law, which went into effect on February 17, 1934,[6] aims to protect the laboring and small merchant classes. It prohibits the entrance of "laboring immigrants," that is, those who enter the country expecting to work for wages. On the other hand, technical men, professors whose entry is requested by recognized seats of learning, artists, professional sportsmen, traveling salesmen, and those going to occupy responsible positions, are still free to enter for one year. Investors wishing to make Mexico their permanent home must have a capital of at least twenty thousand pesos to be devoted to the development of an industrial or agricultural enterprise, but in no case will they be admitted when they propose to devote this capital to a purely commercial business. These restrictions were laid down because there is an excess of merchants and traders on the one hand and a shortage of industrial and agricultural workers on the other. The low cost of living drew during recent years a considerable number of people from the Near East and the Far East, many of whom, "lacking economic and moral solvency, developed into a plague of peddlers and small merchants."

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[6] See *Diario oficial* of same date.

Mexico announces that she still welcomes men willing to help in the development of her vast resources, those who desire to become a part of the nation and not merely to live off the efforts of others. But it is becoming increasingly difficult for foreigners in the teaching, medical and other professions to remain in the country, and practically impossible for new ones to secure permission to enter.

In Honduras the press has been demanding reform of the immigration law to prevent the entrance of so many Poles and Czechoslovaks "who take work away from us." The law requires that 80 per cent of the workers be nationals. In Panama a decree, passed on November 30, 1931, prevents the entrance of all immigrants not traveling first class, scientists and students excepted.

President Olaya Herrera of Colombia issued in December, 1931, a decree limiting to a quota of ten each immigration from Bulgaria, China, Greece, India, Russia and various countries of the Near East, but there are no quota limitations on other nationals. A presidential decree of May, 1935, made special provision for entrance of German and other refugees without passports.

In Costa Rica, according to a recent law, every immigrant must possess at least one thousand *colones* or its equivalent. The chief executive is empowered to refuse admission to or order the deportation of any alien deemed undesirable. This latter authority is granted to most of the executives of Latin-American countries by their constitutions.

On January 26, 1932, the Dominican Congress passed a law making it necessary for all immigrants to secure permission of the Department of the Interior before they enter the country. Certain exceptions are made with regard to diplomatic representatives of foreign countries, university graduates and tourists expecting to stay no longer than thirty days. Similar temporary restrictions have been put into force in almost all the Southern countries. These restrictions are changed from time to time. A few cases are cited here only as examples of present tendencies.

FUTURE OF IMMIGRATION

Van Loon's *Geography* dismisses Latin America with few words on the ground that its small population, compared to other areas, entitles it to little notice. And, as we have already noted, dense populations do compel invention, and progress and social sympathy come only when men live closely together. Schools of thought like those recently developed in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and other countries which oppose immigration must face the fact, however they dislike it, that sparsely settled countries are weak countries.

It may be a good thing to check immigration for a while and to enforce entrance requirements. That policy will afford time to study the problem more carefully and to prepare more adequately for future inflow. And in times of economic depression governments may be expected to be cautious about allowing foreigners to enter the country and take jobs from nationals. But Bolívar and Alberdi are still good advisers — much better than the moderns who want their countries to follow the example of the United States, whose situation is so completely different in this respect.

The United States has 3,026,000 square miles with a population of 125 million — 41 to the square mile; Latin America has an area of 8,660,000 square miles, with a population of 120 million, or 14.8 per square mile. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the United States had a population of five million and Latin America somewhere between fifteen and twenty million. Europe, with a population of 465 million, has 3,875,000 square miles of territory, 120 people per square mile. It is interesting to remember that Cuba, with a territory about as large as Java's, has a population of four million as compared with Java's thirty-eight million. If Argentina were as densely populated as the state of New York it would contain three hundred million instead of its present twelve million.

Much of Latin America is not growing as rapidly as might be expected. New blood and larger populations would do much to advance the progress of practically all the west coast and Caribbean countries. El Salvador is the only one of these twenty countries that can be said to have a dense population, its total being 1,574,000 or 117 per square mile. Puerto Rico has about five hundred to the square mile. Argentina and Brazil, in spite of all their immigration during recent years, have only been able to keep up with the average density of population for Latin America. Colombia, the third largest South American nation, with nine million population, might with her great extent and riches easily take an important place in the world's development. All she needs to do is to put her house in order and make proper provisions for her guests. But she has so far failed either to invite immigration or to pass laws favorable to its reception. With new social conceptions stirring her life, including various proposals to give the common people a better chance at the land, a progressive government might find means of attracting immigrants.

Central America's population gives no evidence of any rapid increases. The population of Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama, all hover around the half million mark. The states of Brazil, Pará, Matto Grosso and Amazonas contain half of Brazil's territory, yet have only one person to the square mile. Amazonas, three times the size of Texas, has only about four hundred thousand people. Venezuela is, physically, one of the finest countries in the world, but immigration is almost nil, discouraged both by unsettled political situations and by unsatisfactory living conditions.

In the United States the methods used to attract immigrants included establishment of free schools, and freedom of trade and of religion; an important inducement was the granting of land with good titles and protection. New land and homestead laws to break up the landed estates must be worked out in South America. Governments need to attack the problem of population with renewed energy.

One of the reasons for the average man's disparagement of Latin America is the fallacy, pretty generally accepted by Anglo-Saxons, that the great sections of the earth known as "the tropics" are to be forever regarded, on account of climatic conditions, as impossible fields for great and progressive enterprises. Tropical development has hitherto been hindered by the lack of animal power to cultivate the soil and to provide transportation. The automobile and the farm tractor are now supplying these deficiencies, and the airplane soars easily over the barriers of jungle and mountain. Army operation of motor vehicles in practically roadless territory has disproved the theory that high quality roads are essential to such traffic. The tractor is now practical almost anywhere. Tropical fruits find a never-failing market in colder climates. Tropical diseases are being conquered. Cooling systems, recently installed in all the small residences of the TVA project developed by the United States government at Muscle Shoals, show that soon the heat of the tropics will be as easily controllable for comfort as is the cold of the north. Thus the barriers to the development of the great Amazon valley and the Central American jungles are being broken down.

In all Southern countries during the last few years many changes have occurred which favor immigration. New roads are being constructed, railways have penetrated some of the most remote areas, airplanes carry mail and passengers, and the radio offers escape from isolation. In a recent planned migration of a hundred and forty German families to Chile, comfortable homes were made ready in advance. Each family received a small piece of land with the understanding that it would be allowed ten years in which to raise stock and crops and reimburse the Chilean government. It has been estimated that Chile needs sixty thousand immigrants a year in order to reach Argentina's population density.

What future immigration will mean to South America is hard to tell. In 1875 the total immigration to the United States was 228,000; thirty years later, in 1905, it ran to one million; and in 1932, for the first time, more people abandoned the United States as a permanent residence than entered as immigrants. So in the United States the tide has turned after some sixty years. In 1905 immigration to Argentina amounted to 215,000, about the same as the number entering the United States in 1875. In 1928 nearly 500,000 immigrants entered South America. Statistics on more recent years have no particular significance because the notable drop was controlled by the temporary unemployment situation. If this rate of increase continues it might be that by 1950 South America will be receiving a million per year. The movement will be stimulated by more stable governments, more social legislation and better transportation, as well as by the fact that the United States has closed her doors to all but a severely limited number of newcomers.

On the other hand, new political conceptions of nationalism and new scientific ideas suggest that present calculations concerning the future of populations may be of little value. If nationalist movements such as those in Italy and Germany should grow and governments continue to coerce citizens to stay at home in order to insure military power, Latin America would have to depend largely upon its own increases to fill the vacant spaces. If the present "back to the farm" movement develops to the extent that industrial countries would raise much more of their own food and through synthetic products supply much more of their needs of such material as fertilizers, leather, tin, petroleum and rubber, the Latin-American exports would be curtailed, with a corresponding drop in that prosperity that always affects the immigrant. There is, however, some hope that the industrialization of Latin America will proceed rapidly and attract irresistibly cheap labor in large numbers, just as the steel mills and textile factories of the Atlantic states sucked into their smoky maws millions of European peasants. But here again, while there is no doubt that Latin America will increasingly manufacture for its own needs, there seems to be no assurance, with its lack of coal and other important basic materials, that it will become one of the world's great manufacturing centers, like the United States and western Europe. And in regard to foreign labor, during the last five years at least half of these Southern lands have made it imperative to employ in large industries from 50 per cent to 90 per cent of national labor.

As for the internal conditions which develop population, here the world seems also to be facing new conditions which threaten to change the basis of previous calculations. A number of the Southern countries have, irrespective of immigration, increased their population rapidly. Brazil, with only five million immigrants during its independent existence, has doubled its population about every thirty years. Colombia, with practically no immigration, has doubled its population in forty years. Puerto Rico had, when it came under the United States in 1898, only about half of the one million six hundred thousand people that overwhelmed the little island in 1935.

One reason for rapid increase in population is promiscuity of sex relations. In the past there has been much of this in Latin America. Men in high station have maintained not only their own legitimate wife and children but one or several other families — sometimes quite openly. Among the illiterate mestizos and zambos marriage has been both too costly and too restrictive of liberties to become the rule and irregular unions have been the basis for population increase. Today, however, there is coming over Latin America an increasing appreciation of the single standard for both sexes, as well as a recognition of the rights of each child to come into the world under decent physical and moral conditions. This, of course, will limit the number of illegitimate births in the future — running today in some countries to more than 50 per cent. By improvement in the care of infants, the loss through fewer births might be balanced by the gains through reduced infant mortality. We must remember that the death rate of children under one year of age has been higher in countries like Chile and Mexico than in almost any other part of the civilized world.

The spread of birth control may also have a bearing on future population. So far it has not influenced population figures, a fact due in part to the teachings of the Roman Catholic church, and in part to the almost universal desire of women to have children. But today there are appearing openly in the display windows of bookstores in many Southern cities treatises on birth control, and its relation to modern economic and moral conditions is being discussed. The movement, except in the more sophisticated urban centers and in overcrowded areas like Puerto Rico and other Caribbean districts, is not likely to grow rapidly, but it is an unknown quantity.

A general improvement of social conditions, which is becoming a new concern to the leaders of Latin America, should enlarge population. Studies made by Dr. Belesario Penna show that in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the population of the great landed estates is often

> composed of an underfed, degraded lot who wander from place to place, carrying the germs of hookworm, malaria and tuberculosis to children of the better classes both in the country and in the city; the net growth of population among them being 6.9 per 1,000. On the other hand the settlers of the colonies, mostly immigrants from Europe, who live an orderly, hard-working, sedentary life, interested in education and religion, have averaged an increase of 23.9 per 1,000. This shows that one way that leads to increased population is increased moral and educational development.[7]

These pitiable people compose practically four-fifths of Brazil's population, and probably a large percentage of the inhabitants of many other Hispanic-American countries.

The ban placed by an increasingly large number of Southern countries on the entrance of religious workers may indirectly affect population in restraining large groups that might otherwise immigrate. Venezuela and Ecuador, like Mexico, prohibit absolutely the entrance of ordained foreign religious workers, although their decrees are not yet so strictly interpreted as their northern neighbors'. Guatemala, Costa Rica and El Salvador have recently severely limited such immigrants. The rapidly growing number of secularist or totalitarian states south of the Rio Grande, which would no longer attract people looking for larger freedom, might in themselves become a hindrance to the rapid growth of populations. But granting that the rapid changes going on in the world today make it

[7] "O cancro nacional," *Correio de Manhã,* Rio, Aug. 18, 1929.

unwise to prophesy on population movements, at least certain facts seem fairly clear.

The world's population is increasing at the rate of 160 million every ten years. These new people must find, in the face of an ever rising standard of living, food and "a place under the sun." Where better could they find them than in Latin America with its great undeveloped agricultural and mineral resources, the vast wealth in its tropical forests, and the untapped electrical power of its remarkable river systems? But prospective immigrants should remember that openings in business are exceedingly scarce for the foreigner who has not previously signed a contract with some corporation, and opportunities for professional men, as physicians and lawyers, are practically non-existent because of the tightening legal restrictions. As for colonization projects — so easily organized on paper by real-estate boomers, who can make an Amazon swamp sound like a paradise — one should exercise great caution before joining them. The relationship of markets to the land which the colonies are invited to buy should be carefully studied. All immigrants to Latin America should learn the language of the country and study the psychology of the people, their approach to life, their literature and their history. The reading of even a few of their best books will be rewarding in opening doors to lifelong friendships.

Immigration policy in the future should be selective, keeping out the hordes of unprepared, ignorant people and securing honest, industrious peasants who may, with the division of the great estates, have an opportunity of acquiring their own land and building themselves into the community. A certain number of technical experts who can help in the improvement of agricultural and industrial enterprises would also be an important aid to national growth.

The immigrants themselves should make every effort to adapt themselves to Latin-American economic and psychological conditions. Probably few Anglo-Saxons will migrate to Hispanic America, but those who go in connection with business enterprises should change their attitude. Too often in the past the business and diplomatic representatives of the United

States have isolated themselves in clubs and other exclusive places and have made not the slightest attempt to study the culture of the country of their residence and to become identified with international movements which promote better understanding. Fortunately, United States firms are now beginning to realize how much they have lost by not sending the highest type of representatives to the South and there has been great improvement in this respect in recent years.

Today there is a tremendous struggle between the great industrial countries for commercial supremacy in Hispanic America. Especially are Japan and Germany striving to secure the lead. The first increased its trade 200 per cent in the two years previous to 1934. It is cutting prices in Panama and other countries and bringing havoc to the old line merchants, as the chain stores did in the United States a few years ago. The United States is also making a serious effort to retain the place of vantage gained during the World War. Trade commissions from various countries are met in all parts of these Southern lands. Prominent representatives of political and intellectual circles from all parts of the world also visit them. Cultural supremacy is being fought for as intensely as commercial supremacy. This very struggle among outsiders has revealed to the Latin Americans their own strength. The spirit of nationalism is growing rapidly and the people are learning to play off one foreign element against another to the advantage of the national.

DISTRIBUTION OF RACES

Three definite racial tendencies in the three largest Hispanic-American countries are clearly discernible — Argentina, white; Mexico, Indian; Brazil, "cosmic." Brazil is committed to absorbing all races, including the large African population, the small Japanese group and the inclusive European immigration, developing all these into a unified Brazilian people. This policy is deliberate and accepted with the full conviction that it is bringing good results. In Argentina the whites have definitely assumed overwhelming dominance, which they will, without doubt, maintain. With Argentina might also be counted Uruguay, Chile, Cuba and little Costa Rica. But in other countries, the largest of which is Mexico, the whites have definitely decreased as the Indians have increased, and the mestizo has become dominant.

It seems certain that Mexico's Indian strain will remain dominant. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Mexico was estimated at eight million, of whom 44 per cent were Indian, 38 per cent mestizo, and 18 per cent white. In 1932, of the population of 16,392,846, it was estimated in round numbers that 25 per cent were Indian, 65 per cent mestizo, and 10 per cent white. Since the revolution of 1910 the Indians have been receiving special help through education and health campaigns, and several hundred thousand Mexican workmen in the United States have been repatriated, while foreign immigration has been discouraged.

Some authorities believe that while the lowland Indians of Spanish America are losing in their battle against encroaching civilization, there are now more highland Indians than there were when the continent was discovered. Colonial authorities estimated that there were thirteen million Indians in 1650. The best estimate today gives their number as three million more. They remain in practically the same districts today as originally; namely, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay. The whites in several of these countries do not number more than 10 per cent of the population, and they live largely in the parts of the country left vacant by the Indians.

The total population of the twenty countries of Latin America today may be estimated at 120 million. Their statistics are seldom reliable and authorities differ considerably on population totals. Figures as to racial divisions are still less reliable and subject to quite different interpretations from those in North America. The following is the most intelligent guess which the writer can make, based upon the averages from various sources: mestizos (mixed white and Indian), sixty million; whites, twenty-five million; Indians, sixteen million; Negroes, eight million; mulattoes (mixed white and black), eight million; zambos (mixed Indian and black), two million; Asiatics and unclassified, one million.

From the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan is the largest stretch of undeveloped fertile land in the world, as it is also the largest territory where race prejudice is not dominant. Again, it is the largest section of the Western world which is committed to an individualistic philosophy. The future development, not only in quantity but also in quality, of the population of South America offers a most interesting study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Between the wishes of the average reader who does not want to be bothered by footnotes and of the scholars who think that someone else's authority ought to be given for all statements, I have tried to steer a middle course. Authorities are often cited in the text itself; footnotes have been cut to a minimum. Bibliographical notes are placed at the end of each section, where a few of the most important books on the subjects discussed are named and evaluated.

A bibliography is the most unsatisfactory of all things, for it is so easy to make up an impressive list of books most of which not even the specialist will ever have a chance to consult, if he depends on any process other than picking them up, as the author has done, while he travels through the Hispanic world. For many of the most helpful interpretations of Latin-American life never find their way into public libraries even in their native lands, and, having been issued in small private editions, are now impossible to secure. Unsatisfactory, therefore, as is the omission of many documents, the author must himself assume authority for most of the treatment.

PERSPECTIVES AND CHARACTER MOLDS. The Spaniards have always been fond of analyzing themselves, and the Ibero-Americans have inherited the trait. The greatest of all studies of Spanish character is of course Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote*. The modern successor to Cervantes is Don Miguel de Unamuno, who died January 1, 1937. Fortunately the following books of this grand old man have been translated into English, all of which breathe the Spanish spirit: *The Tragic Sense of Life* (New York, 1921); *Life of Don Quijote and Sancho* (New York, 1927); *The Agony of Christianity* (New York, 1928); and *Mist* (New York, 1928).

Another outstanding living Spaniard who writes much on this topic is Don José Ortega y Gasset, editor of *Revista de Occidente,* the outstanding intellectual magazine of the Spanish world. His recent book has appeared in English under the title *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York, 1932).

The Portuguese, J. P. Oliveira Martins, gives an excellent comparison between Anglo-Saxon and Iberian character in his *History of Iberian Civilization* (London, 1930).

The most charming writer of today on this subject is the world citizen who one year may serve as a professor in Oxford University, another as chairman of an important commission of the League of Nations, and another as Madrid's ambassador in Paris — Don Salvador de Madariaga, whose *Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards* (London, 1928) is a joy.

Three British writers who have ably interpreted Spanish character are G. Havelock Ellis in his delightful *The Spirit of Spain* (New York, 1931); George Borrow in *The Bible in Spain,* and John A. Mackay in an illuminating study embodying considerable reference to Latin America, *The Other Spanish Christ* (New York, 1933).

The French, as the spiritual mentors of Latin America, have often essayed interpretations of Southern life. About the best of many rather superficial efforts is André Siegfried's *Impressions of South America* (New York, 1933).

Two authors who approach their subject from the artistic and philosophical standpoint, with vocabularies so grandiose that at times it is difficult for the ordinary reader to understand them, are Count Herman Keyserling in *South American Meditations on Hell and Heaven in the Soul of Man* (New York, 1932), and Waldo Frank in his two fascinating, poetical volumes, *Virgin Spain* (New York, 1926) and *America Hispana* (New York, 1931).

The Ibero-Americans themselves are of course the most important contributors to a study of their psychology. The most famous of all the books presenting comparisons between North and South American ideals is the little volume which twenty years ago many a Spanish-American student made his Bible of devotions — *Ariel* by the lamented Uruguayan essayist, José Enrique Rodó; it is probably the most read single volume ever written in South America. Ignorance of this classic is inexcusable even for those whose only language is English, since a good translation has been made by F. J. Stimson (Boston, 1922).

The most comprehensive single volume in English for the psychological interpretation of Ibero-American history is *Latin America, Its Rise and Progress* (New York, 1913), by the Peruvian essayist, long a resident of Paris, Francisco García Calderón.

It is a temptation to continue this enumeration with other good books, such as that of Tancredo Pinochet, *The Gulf of Misunderstanding* (New York, 1920). Among American writings, the author's *Problems in Pan-Americanism* (New York, 1925) deals extensively with Latin-American attitudes and there too, following each chapter, a list of books will be found. Many references are made to this theme in other writings by the author.

As a start in Spanish titles, the following are mentioned:

A famous book filled with facts and references to literature, one which has run through several editions, is that of Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra* (Barcelona, 1917), a modern Spaniard's spirited reply to the "absurd legend that Spaniards are cruel, intolerant, enemies of culture and progress."

A good analysis of what his people may contribute to the solution of present world problems is given by Juan Orts González in *El destino de los pueblos ibéricos* (Madrid, 1932).

Carlos Octavio Bunge in *Nuestra América* wrote the first important book in Spanish on the subject of South American psychology. His two brilliant younger Argentine colleagues, whose deaths we must lament, won fame throughout the literary world for their consistent interpretations of the psychology of their people: José Ingenieros, *El hombre mediocre* (Buenos Aires, 1920), and Alfredo Colmo, *Los países latino americanos* (Madrid, 1915). Others of this same school and equally brilliant are fortunately still living; among them the Mexican publicist José Vasconcelos, whose *Indología* (Madrid, 1921) and *Bolivarismo y Monroísmo* (Santiago, 1935) are worthy of study.

The best recent work in Spanish on the differences between North and South American ideals is *Eurindia* (Buenos Aires, 1926) by the Argentine littérateur Ricardo Rojas. Among other rather superficial books dealing with viewpoints is *Ibero América, nuestro ideal* (Havana, 1930) by José Suárez Somoano.

RACIAL BACKGROUNDS. *The Spanish People* by Martin A. S. Hume (New York, 1917) is the best single volume in English showing the development of Iberian character with the contributions it has received from various sources. At the end of each section is a helpful "Summary of what Spain Did for the World in this Period." A more detailed work is J. B. Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* 3 vols. (New York, 1918-25). Those who have studied this early culture of Spain realize its remarkable extent.

The study of early American life has attracted wide attention in the last twenty years. North American archeologists have been most prominent in this field. Recent scientific accounts in English are H. J. Spinden's *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America* (New York, 1928) and Philip Ainsworth Means' *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* (New York, 1931). Full references to authorities will be found in these volumes. A popular summary of recent discoveries is found in Emily C. Davis' *The Archaeological Story of Two Continents* (New York, 1931). Two North Americans have recently written good stories which deal with the amalgamation of the Indian and the Spaniard: Blair Niles, *Maria Paluna* (Guatemala) (New York, 1934) and *Day of Immense Sun* (Peru) (Indianapolis, 1936); Allan Hilgarth, *The Black Mountain* (Bolivia) (New York, 1935). Manuel Gamio's *The Population of the Valley of Teotihuacán* (Mexico, 1922) is a very important book on the subject of the Indians of Mexico.

The Pan American Union publishes an annual report on the progress made in archeological work on the American continent. See also articles in the *Pan American Bulletin,* November 1934, December 1934, February 1935, April 1935, entitled "Summary of Archaeological Work in the Americas." Here references will be found to the important work of archeologists like Gamio and Caso of Mexico and Tello of Peru.

Fernando de los Ríos, former minister of education in the Spanish republic, is prominent among the scholars who have written on the universality of Spanish culture. Spain's great contribution to international law is told by Camilo Barcia

Trelles in *Francisco de Vitoria, fundador del derecho internacional moderno* (Valladolid, 1928).

A Spanish archeological text (first edition, 1608) with English notes has been published as *Los comentarios reales de los Incas* by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (Boston, 1918). Among the numerous studies by South Americans on the Inca empire is Arturo Capdevila's *Los hijos del sol* (Buenos Aires, 1923). Among the most important authors and books dealing with the problem of the modern Indian are the following: Alcides Arguedas, *Pueblo enfermo* (Barcelona, 1910); Colorinda Turner, *Aves sin nidos* (Valencia, 1889); José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima, 1927); Moisés Sáenz, *Sobre el Indio ecuatoriano y su incorporación al medio nacional*, and *Sobre el Indio peruano* (Mexico, 1933), both of which contain good bibliographies; Jaramillo Alvarado, *El Indio ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1925); Luis F. Aguilar, *Cuestiones indígenas* (Cuzco, 1922).

POPULATION TENDENCIES. The best summary in English of racial problems in South America is Ernesto Quesada's "The Sociological Evolution of the Argentine Republic" (*Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,* May 1911), pp. 707–30.

Mexican racial questions were masterfully treated in the colonial period by the great historian Fray Bernadino de Sahagún. An English translation of his works was made by Fannie R. Bandelier: *A History of Mexico* (Nashville, 1932).

The best summaries in English of the Mexican point of view are found in the volumes containing addresses at the University of Chicago in 1925 and before the Mexican seminar in 1931 and 1934, as follows: José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio, *Aspects of Mexican Civilization* (Chicago, 1926); Moisés Sáenz and Herbert I. Priestley, *Some Mexican Problems* (Chicago, 1927); Herring and Terrill, *The Genius of Mexico* (New York, 1930); Herring and Weinstock, *Renascent Mexico* (New York, 1935).

For a review concerning Latin Americans as a whole and a prophecy of their future we turn again to F. García Calderón in *Latin America, Its Rise and Progress* (New York, 1913).

An excellent treatise on the problem of future population in

Argentina is Mark Jefferson's *Peopling the Argentine Pampa* (New York, 1926).

The pioneer study of racial questions in South America was made by the greatest of Argentines, Domingo Sarmiento, in *Conflicto y armonías de las razas en América* (Buenos Aires, many editions) and in *Facundo,* the story of an Argentine *caudillo* of the early nineteenth century, who as a gaucho refused to be drawn into the civilizing influences of Buenos Aires. José Ingenieros in *Sociología argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1918) has analyzed the racial theories of many important Argentine writers, including Sarmiento, Juan B. Alberdi, J. A. García, C. O. Bunge, J. V. González and Agustín Alvarez. Ingenieros has further contributed to a knowledge of these important authorities by publishing their works, along with those of some twenty-five other Argentines, in a cheap popular edition known as *La cultura argentina* (one and two pesos a volume).

In Brazil it is only recently that much writing has been done on racial questions. In 1902 there appeared two important books, one describing the struggles of the Brazilian immigrant, and the other life on the Brazilian plains, somewhat as Sarmiento in *Facundo* had described the Argentine pampas. Graca Aranha, in *Chanaan* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), tells the extraordinary story of an Old World youth seeking brotherhood in the New World and of the difficulties he encountered as an immigrant to the German colonies of the South. Euclides da Cunha's *Os sertoes* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902) is a description of life in the hinterland and of the *sertanejo,* the backwoodsman of Brazil, part Indian and part white, the pioneer who struggles with nature and respects civilization not at all.

Within the last few years Brazilian intellectuals have awakened to the study of race. The leader among these students is Oliveira Vianna, *O povo Brasileiro e sua evolución* (Rio de Janeiro, 1928). An excellent book on the more acute immigration problems, especially as raised by the 2 per cent restrictions of the 1934 Constitution, is Julio de Revoredo's *Immigração* (São Paulo, 1934). He covers the past and present of immigration and advocates a wider door for foreigners of the right kind to build the nation.

It is interesting to see in J. F. Normano's *Economic Brazil* (Chapel Hill, 1935) a statement that "the question of how the Brazilian melting-pot works has not yet been investigated"! (p. 82). How mistaken is such a statement!

The following are only a few of the books dealing with the subject published during the last few years as a part of the remarkable nationalistic and intellectual awakening of Brazilians, who are enthusiastically tackling every kind of socio-nationalistic problem: Oliveira Vianna, *Raça e assimilação; Populacóes meridionaes do Brasil;* Nina Rodríguez, *Os Africanos no Brasil;* Alfredo Elles, Jr., *Populacóes paulistas;* Pedro Calmon, *Historia da civilização brasileira;* Alberto Torres, *O problema nacional brasileiro, A organização nacional* (reprints of earlier books); Roquette Pinto, *Ensaios de anthropologia brasileira;* Baptista Pereira, *O Brasil e o anti-semitismo, O Brasil e a raça;* M. Bomfin, *O Brasil nação: Realidade da soberania brasileira.* All of these are published by or may be secured through *Companhia Editora Nacional,* São Paulo.

Since the revolution of 1910 interest has largely turned to the Indian and countless articles and addresses have appeared in newspapers, reviews and pamphlets—too many to be noted in a brief list. Those interested can secure much material by addressing the *Secretaría de Educación,* Mexico, D. F.

Samuel Ramos, a professor of philosophy in the University of Mexico, is the latest to attempt an analysis of national character, and his *Bosquejo del hombre y la cultural en México* (Mexico, 1934), which criticizes his people as imitators, is now causing a lively discussion. Modern Mexico's race problem is also treated by Ricardo Rivera, *La heterogeneidad étnica y espiritual de México* (Mexico, 1931), and by Jorge Ferretis, *¿Necesitamos inmigración?* (Mexico, 1934).

Book Two

REVOLUTIONS AND THEIR CAUSES

IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

WHILE Spanish America is not so given to armed uprisings as is generally supposed, it must be admitted that she has had more than her share of them. There are many reasons for them, one of the most fundamental being that almost fanatic love of liberty so characteristic of democracies in the making.

In general the history of the republican life of Spanish America (Brazil is an exception) can be divided into the following periods: (1) the struggle for political independence, 1810–25; (2) anarchy and confusion, 1825–75; (3) organization and peace, 1875–1930; (4) revolutions for economic independence, a period which is just beginning. These dates are fixed arbitrarily and are only approximate, of course. They will be justified as we examine the four periods more closely.

"I feel that I have the soul of a medieval and it seems to me also that the soul of my fatherland is medieval," says Miguel de Unamuno, the most Spanish of modern Spaniards. He speaks not only for himself and for his contemporaries in Hispanic America, but also for the aborigines. Whether walking among the native tribes under the shadow of the Pyramid of the Sun, near Mexico City, or watching the descendants of the Incas in the great market place of Cuzco, one feels that he is in the presence of a great, mysterious past, powerful and inscrutable, that sternly questions the present order.

COMMUNISM VERSUS INDIVIDUALISM

In no other part of the West have two strong peoples, though mingling, retained their peculiar race psyche so long as have the indigenous Indians and their Iberian conquerors. United they have been in blood, but in soul they have never understood each other or the modern world. Both have remained themselves, with little change — members of ancient races, not yet convinced that modern political democracy or the machine age offer them what they desire. On one side is the Indian, passive, communistic, a lover of the "good earth," a worshiper of nature; on the other is the Iberian, with the tremendous activity of the conquistador, an individualist, shunning work, loving power, fanatically worshiping a warrior god. Today we know with more certainty than ever before the strength of the American aborigines and of the socialistic organization of their life, which was completely opposed to the individualistic concepts of the conquerors.

Among the early civilizations of America agricultural industry had developed to its highest point. Just as rice among the Chinese and wheat among the Egyptians, so corn among the Aztecs had become the basis of civilization. The city was in charge of the women, who kept it clean, while the country was for the men, who defended it and made it produce. Land was distributed to each family, production was in common. The Indian knew nothing of the riches or poverty of individuals. He knew nothing of political parties, of business, of commerce or of social intrigues. In the Inca and Aztec empires the clan, never the individual, formed the cell of society. The state was the supreme will and the only commerce that existed was in the hands of the state, a commerce without money. The state prevented the concentration of riches in a few hands and declared precious metals to be the property of the gods. Systematic colonization carried families from regions overpopulated to those where population was needed. Statistics was developed to a high point; each community knew the number of its people and of animals available. Social legislation protected invalids, indigents and other needy people. The Indian neither considered work a curse nor regarded it as the most important thing in life. He had learned to alternate between a life of contemplation and one of activity. He did not exhaust his energy in manual work but conserved something for spiritual activity. He believed that if he lived in harmony with nature, if he worked faithfully and remained pure in thought, his fields would produce abundant crops. In several Indian languages the ideas of duty and of happiness were expressed by the same word.

Into this communistic society came the individualistic Spaniard. Instead of identifying himself with the world around him, he regarded himself as superior to it. His military spirit, his disdain of work, his love for gold rather than for land, his superiority over nature, led him to look at life differently from the Indian, whom he began to enslave.

It was the absence of initiative in the Indian that permitted the Spaniards to conquer the civilized tribes, because the latter would make no move unless they were ordered to do so by their chiefs. The Spaniard, on the other hand, had as a background several centuries of experience in guerrilla warfare with the Moors, and each individual had become a soldier capable of directing his own activities. He came to America not to create new forms of life or to develop new religious liberty, but to transfer to the New World the systems of Spain itself. The "Laws of the Indies," the legal provisions worked out with such great care by the monarchy, were the most perfect ever developed for the government of colonies. But the difficulty was that they were developed in Spain, to treat with Spanish conditions. As in so many other efforts to subject a foreign people to political and religious control, the Spaniards took no account of the psychology of the Indians. They organized an economic system completely opposed to that to which the Indians were accustomed. The real object of the system was to exploit the land and the mines for the benefit of the king and a few of his favored subjects. The conquistadors carved out for themselves farms which often embraced hundreds of square miles. Cortés reserved for himself an estate of some twenty-five thousand square miles. The agriculturally trained Indians made good serfs for these estates.

It must be recognized, however, that the Spaniard did endeavor to protect the Indian. The latter was given a privileged place as a minor; Indian villages were organized in which the natives had special privileges and were protected from the Spanish exploiters; and Indians were exempted from taxes which Spaniards were compelled to pay. The official attitude of the crown was against enslavement of the Indians.

Three schemes were used to get what was deemed the proper amount of work out of the Indian without legally enslaving him. The *repartimiento* assigned groups of Indians to certain regions for work under the supervision of their own foremen. The *encomienda,* somewhat similar, made it permissible to draw upon Indians in certain specified villages, with the proviso that the natives should be paid for their work, treated humanely and taught Christianity. The *mita* was a scheme, introduced later, providing for a shift of gangs of workmen in order to keep them from being killed off by excessive labor, especially after so many had died under the abuses in the mines.

The elaborate legal provisions, apparently ameliorative and beneficent, were seldom carried out. Indians who did not succumb under forced labor were quickly reduced to sullen slaves, or fled to isolated spots where they continued, as far as possible, their ancient customs. All that was noble in the communism, the science, the architecture, the education and the religion of the native Americans was ruthlessly plowed under by the Spanish colonial regime. It is the hope of many today that this seed, after centuries of lying in the ground, will spring up in new life.

COLONIAL ISOLATION

But the lords of the land themselves did not keep up with the rapidly shifting social changes which were affecting other countries — the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, which so profoundly transformed the rest of the Western world during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Spanish colonial system, enlightened in many ways, prohibited as far as possible intercourse between the Spanish colonies and the outside world. The Inquisition rigorously excluded from the colonies all but the most orthodox of literature, not only in the ecclesiastical but also in the political and social fields, as it likewise excluded foreign visitors who might bring dangerous ideas or reports concerning such heretical movements as the English, French or American revolutions. Even the bulls of the pope, himself a foreigner, could be transmitted to the colonies only through the Spanish crown, and foreign orthodox ecclesiastics could visit the colonies only through the same permission.

Commercial relations were confined strictly within the family. The colonies were not only refused permission to trade with any country save Spain, but could send their goods only to the designated ports of Cadiz and Seville. They were considered not a section of the kingdom, but the property of the crown, and were ruled by the elaborate laws instituted by the " Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies."

But in spite of all precautions a certain amount of foreign goods and ideas were smuggled in. During the second half of the eighteenth century knowledge of world events expanded. A few of the people read, in secret, French and English liberal tracts. Others traveled abroad and returned to whisper sedition. Illicit commerce with England also helped to foment dissatisfaction and unrest. The example of the United States, the first of all the New World colonies to gain independence, was influential in the same direction. French translations of the Declaration of Independence were widely read and added fuel to the flame of freedom. The French Revolution and its aftermath had powerful influence toward revolt. From across the seas the doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity stirred ardent minds in the New World.

MAJOR CAUSES OF REVOLUTION

The colonists had three major causes for revolution. The first was the quarrel of the creoles with the mother country because of her denial to them of rights to participate in the government and to enjoy intercourse with the rest of the world. This quarrel grew into a civil war fought by Spaniards against Spaniards; it was not a war imported from the outside, as some writers maintain. Another cause, as already indicated, was the importation of ideals from the French and American revolutions. A third cause, urged as the major one by the Argentine sociologist, José Ingenieros, was economic. It is true that British commercial interests in Liverpool and Manchester were already tasting, through clandestine trade, something of the riches of South American commerce, and that the Argentine farmers had addressed a communication to Viceroy Cisneros about free trade with England as a means of enriching the colonial treasury. But to attribute first place here to the economic motive would seem to give it too great prominence.

The exclusion from high offices of all but Spaniards born in Spain gradually became unbearable. Even the creoles — Spaniards born in America — were not permitted to enjoy the best positions. Their opportunities were limited to minor places in the military, ecclesiastical, legal and commercial occupations. They had often to trust to the bounty of a wealthy patron. This did not sit well on the proud Spaniard, who was always more ready to suffer material distress than to accept any position that might imply social inferiority. Considerate of the dignity of others, he demanded the same consideration of his own place in life. The social inequality imposed by the European Spaniard irked the creole and drove him into alliance with the mestizo. The alliance was the easier because of the lack of race prejudice which might have hindered such a movement among Anglo-Saxon peoples. The Spaniard's disposition to hold aloof from the mestizo was based on other than racial grounds. Because of religious sentiment unions not sanctioned by the church were regarded as socially undesirable, and mestizos generally mated illegally. Moreover, those who, like Indians, were compelled to do menial work, were looked down upon by Spaniards. But it was not difficult in the face of common grievances for creoles and mestizos to break down barriers and unite in a protest. What the creoles desired was an understanding of their position, a sympathy with their problems, an appreciation of their place as members of the family. With that assured they would be ready, like all Spaniards, to overlook almost any deficiency or even crime.

The immediate occasion for pronouncement against these abuses throughout Spanish America was attributable to European politics, and not to any particular crisis in colonial administration. Napoleon's invasion of Spain and the imposition of his brother Joseph as king immediately brought forth several claimants to the Spanish throne. Thus was raised the question of what government the colonists would obey. Indeed, Spain itself led in the revolution against the resident king and in favor of Ferdinand VII. The colonies started their revolution with the cry, "The old king or none!" and proclaimed their loyalty to the *juntas* set up to rule temporarily in representation of Ferdinand. It was only when he had been restored, had demonstrated that "a Bourbon never forgets anything nor ever learns anything," and had refused absolutely to carry out the promised reforms in America, that the colonies began in earnest a movement for complete independence. This second phase of the movement was led not by the organized *cabildos,* or official town councils, as a part of the governmental system, but by a group of miracle-working individuals like Bolívar and San Martín, whose cry was "Liberty or death!"

It is the idealistic leadership of these men — along with others such as Francisco de Miranda, the noble forerunner of the whole independence movement; Sucre, the great military genius; Belgrano, the Argentine patriot; O'Higgins, the Chilean hero — which explains more than anything else the brilliant achievements of this truly remarkable epoch. Again we see at their highest, heroic will and mystic faith dominating certain individuals and accomplishing the impossible. As Andrés Bello, the greatest intellectual of that period, put it: "The captains and the old legions of the transatlantic Iberia were conquered by the improvised leaders and armies of young Iberia, which, renouncing the name, kept the indomitable spirit of the old."

Let us take a brief glance at the greatest of these heroes. Of the two principal leaders in the revolutionary deliverance of South America, one began his movement in the extreme north, in Venezuela, the other in the south, in Argentina. The two movements, victorious, finally met in the center at Lima.

THE LIBERATOR

Simón Bolívar was the greatest genius of Latin America. He was born in 1783 of a rich family and was educated in Europe, where he imbibed the principles of republicanism. Disgusted with the elaborate crowning of Napoleon in Paris, he left that city and went on a walking trip with his eccentric teacher, Simón Rodríguez, to Rome. Here, at the age of twenty-two, he climbed to the top of the Aventine hill early one morning in the year 1805, and in the presence of his teacher solemnly vowed: "I will not give rest to my arm or my soul till I have broken the chains which bind my fatherland to Spain." That youth knew nothing of the pitfalls, the struggles, the blood, through which democracy comes. And yet amid all discouragements of later years he maintained the same faith and enthusiasm that made him at last the liberator of five republics.

When Napoleon invaded Spain, Bolívar returned with Miranda in 1810 to his native Venezuela to organize the army of liberation, which soon suffered a total collapse. The great Miranda was surrendered to the Spaniards by the hotheaded insurgent youth, including Bolívar, and never regained his liberty. Bolívar went thence to Colombia in 1812, full of energy, moving the young Colombian legislature with his stirring address in which he stressed the need of new leaders, of trained men and of unity. He soon set out on a march to Venezuela, opposing the will of the Colombian legislature but placating its members by continual reports of towns "liberated," thus gaining the title of Liberator early in his career. But again he was defeated by the Royalists and with prestige gone was compelled to return to Colombia in 1814 and present his resignation.

During the dark hours of exile in Jamaica, Bolívar demonstrated remarkable courage. Nothing serves to show more clearly the caliber of the man than his famous letter written from Jamaica during this period. In that letter he outlined the abuses of the Spanish colonial period, the reasons for the failure of the liberal forces up to that time, and the enormous sacrifices that must yet be made for independence. He also argued for European help, discussed suitable government for the future republics, and prophesied what was to become of these emerging countries. It was in the Jamaica letter that he expressed his hope of a united America, exclaiming:

> How beautiful it would be if the Isthmus of Panama were for us what the Isthmus of Corinth was for the Greeks! Would that we might some day inaugurate there an august congress of the representatives of the republics, kingdoms and empires to treat the high concerns of peace and war with the nations of the other parts of the world.

With the aid of a small force recruited in Haiti, the Liberator for the third time initiated a campaign in Venezuela. This time it was fought in the back country around the Orinoco, where he profited much by the help of José Antonio Páez and his *llaneros,* " plainsmen." Then came the congress at Angostura, to which he submitted his famous draft constitution embodying his carefully matured ideas for a life presidency, a hereditary senate, and a department for the control of morals and culture. From this brilliant intellectual fête he returned to the head of his army and dashed over the snow-covered Andes to fall on the unsuspecting Royalists and inflict a tremendous defeat at Boyacá. With Venezuela and Colombia freed, he followed his trusted friend, General Antonio José de Sucre, to Ecuador in order to assure the actual unity of the three countries which had already been proclaimed one under the title of Great Colombia. At Guayaquil he had his famous interview with San Martín, which resulted in the resignation of the Argentine hero, who withdrew in order to avoid rivalries with Bolívar. After that, the conqueror moved on to the ancient and picturesque capital of Peru, where he made his headquarters from 1823 to 1826.

Little time was wasted in attacking the last remaining Spanish forces. In the battle of Junín, Sucre's 1,100 cavalrymen attacked the horsemen of the Spanish army, two hundred more in number. Not a shot was fired. The rest of the armies stood aside and watched the astounding saber battle. In forty-five minutes the victory was won by Sucre, who pursued the retreating Royalists and gave them their final and complete defeat in the battle of Ayacucho, in the heights of the Andes. With this battle the Spaniards, as a fighting force, disappeared from South America.

In Lima, Bolívar began with his accustomed vigor to organize the situation. At the same time, under his ever faithful friend, Sucre, the new republic of Bolivia was established with a Constitution written by the Liberator. Thus Bolívar had become " the Father of Five Republics " — Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

AN UNSELFISH ARGENTINE

Before proceeding further with the fortunes and misfortunes of the Liberator, we must turn to the south to consider the movement begun in Argentina and led by an equally great patriot, General José de San Martín. He, like Bolívar, was educated in Europe and, like Miranda, had learned soldiering as an officer in the Spanish army. When he returned to Argentina it was not as a local patriot but as one consecrated to the liberation of all America. He fought his greatest battles in Chile and Peru rather than in his native Argentina, for mere local advantages meant nothing to his great American heart.

Quick to realize that as long as Chile and Peru remained under Spanish control the independence of his own land would be continually threatened, he dared to disobey the shortsighted orders of his own government and began training an army in Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes, for the purpose of driving the Spaniards from Chile. After one of the most brilliant military expeditions of all history — crossing the Andean pass of Uspallata, a mile higher than the famous Alpine pass over which Napoleon led his men — he and his little army fell on the surprised Royalists at Chacabuco and defeated them.

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1818 and a second successful battle at Maipú, he secured the help of the former English Admiral Cochrane and moved his army up the Pacific to the Peruvian port of Callao. Leaving Cochrane to complete the destruction of the Spanish blockade, San Martín marched the eight miles up to Lima and demanded the surrender of this mighty capital of colonial South America. The Spanish forces moved out to the mountain regions and San Martín moved into the historic "City of the Kings." On July 28, 1821, Peru was declared independent. A few days later its liberator was vested with supreme power under the title of "Protector." Few military leaders have been so richly rewarded for their long preparation and careful campaigning.

The next move to assure the complete elimination of Spanish rule from the continent was a union with the forces of the other triumphant leader, who was rapidly swinging south from Venezuela and across Colombia. Internal dissensions in Lima kept San Martín busy for several months, during which time both his agents and those of Bolívar endeavored to secure the backing of Ecuador. Bolívar, ever the more brilliant diplomat, sent General Sucre to gain control of the situation, which he did through the memorable battle of Pichincha, on the side of the snow-covered volcano of that name.

There followed the famous interview of these two great leaders at Guayaquil, a meeting which because of its drama and the mystery that still shrouds it has been the cause of endless controversy. Here were two great individuals, each with miraculous accomplishments to his credit, to meet the ultimate test. Could the brilliant, dauntless, egotistical, masterful Liberator and the equally courageous, but slower, calmer, more conscientious and less self-esteeming Protector — could they unite for the common good?

No, they could not.

It had been agreed that only the two leaders should be at the interview and that both should maintain silence as to its results. But out of the volumes that have been written concerning the meeting it is clear, at least, that there were between them two great differences, one of principle and one of method. The principle was one of government. While both agreed that South America was unprepared for a democracy, San Martín favored a limited monarchy and Bolívar believed in a centralized republic with a lifetime presidency and a hereditary senate. In regard to eliminating the Spanish armed forces, San Martín finally agreed to serve under Bolívar if the latter would bring his forces to Peru, as both agreed was necessary. But the Liberator, with an evident desire to control his own forces, made excuses for refusal of the offer.

The die was cast. Separation, not unity, would shape the continent's destiny. San Martín returned to Lima, where he found that divisions among his own forces had greatly increased. Realizing the difficulty of composing these differences and the fatal results likely from an almost inevitable collision with Bolívar, the great Argentine, with the following noble declaration, resigned and retired in exile to Europe:

> I have witnessed the declaration of independence of the states of Chile and Peru. I hold in my hand the standard which Pizarro used to enslave the empire of the Incas. My promises to the countries for which I fought are fulfilled: to secure their independence and leave them to select their own governments. The presence of a fortunate soldier, however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to newly

established states. . . . Nevertheless I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for the liberty of this country, but only in the capacity of a private citizen. With regard to my public conduct, my compatriots, as in most affairs, will be divided in opinion. Their children will give a just verdict.

As we have already seen, when San Martín moved out, Bolívar moved into Lima. Here honors began to pour on him from all sides. He was hailed as "Liberator," "Terror of Despots," "Redeemer," the "First Born Son of the New World." Dictator of five republics, it is no wonder that he began to conceive of a South American federation with himself at the head.

But military success was easier than civil organization. While the Liberator was basking in praise in Lima, the whole system he had set up began to collapse around him. Suddenly, in 1826, he received word that all was not well in the various sections of Gran Colombia. He started north. In Bogotá his popularity had so dimmed that an attempt was made to assassinate him. Only the quick-wittedness of his mistress, Manuela, saved him. But though this plot failed to accomplish its purpose it did bring death to many of Bolívar's friends, and he exclaimed: "I have really been murdered. The daggers have entered here in my heart." This wounded heart and his continually declining physical strength made more burdensome the vicissitudes of these latter days, which saw also the loss of his dictatorship of Venezuela. Finally, impoverished, on his way to a self-imposed exile in the Caribbean, broken-hearted at the news of the assassination of his beloved friend General Sucre, he was stricken ill and died, less than fifty years of age, at the home of a Spaniard in Santa Marta, Colombia, December 17, 1830.

Like all great men, Bolívar saw every local situation only in connection with the larger world, every idea only in relation to larger conceptions. To form a small nation, to limit achievements to include only a single group or school of thought, never satisfied him. On beginning his campaign in Venezuela he began to think of unity with Colombia. As soon as he had liberated Colombia he moved on to Ecuador and Peru. Next door was Bolivia, and beyond were Argentina and Chile!

Where unselfish love of freedom ceased and selfish ambition began to rule is as difficult to determine here as in the lives of other great men who have been offered crowns.

When five republics were under one ruler, Bolívar proceeded to champion the unity of all Latin America through the congress he called at Panama. To that congress were invited not only American countries but the two European friends of democracy, England and Holland.

Travel and wide reading had prepared Bolívar for the internationalism which was so clearly reflected in his great Jamaica letter, written at the age of thirty-two. The Panama congress was a still more daring revelation of his international point of view. This was virtually the first call in history for a league of nations, and it developed the first proposal for multilateral treaties of arbitration. But these were the visions of a prophet ahead of his time; the conference failed to attain the desired results.

Probably Napoleon alone, of all the remarkable men of that age of democratic revolution, has had more written about him than Bolívar. Like all geniuses, Bolívar challenged attention in his every move. The brilliancy of his intellect and the bold daring of his military career assured him admiration and loyalty in spite of his moral lapses. As long as books are read and dreams are dreamed, the brilliant discourses, the daring campaigns and the philosophical state papers of this great man will remain an inspiration.

THE LIBERATOR PRIEST

In Mexico, Miguel Hidalgo is revered as the father of independence. As a native parish priest he had become deeply interested in the betterment of his Indian parishioners, and introduced among them various industries, including the curing of hides, the manufacture of brick and the cultivation of the silkworm. A native Mexican, all his sympathies lay with his own people and the relief of their abuses as against his foreign superiors in the hierarchy, who were partners of the government in exploiting the natives. But the revolution which he and his associates were organizing was discovered, and the *Grito de Dolores,* the cry of independence, was given on September 16, 1810, sooner than had been planned. At first the overwhelming number of Indians who made up the unorganized mob carried all before them. But not for long. The trained Spanish soldiers got into action and the Spanish church officials excommunicated their offending subordinate. Hidalgo and a number of his co-leaders were captured and shot. Another native priest, José María Morelos, a military genius, was ready to take his place. He made considerable headway for a while, but he too was captured, condemned by the Inquisition and executed in 1815.

About this time, however, the Mexican hierarchy, fearing to lose many of their privileges through the restoration of the liberal Constitution in Spain, decided to join in the revolutionary movement and capture it for their own purposes. A brilliant young military chief, Agustín de Iturbide, suited their purposes. He secured an agreement with the revolutionists, the "Plan of Iguala," by which the Roman Catholic religion and its officials received special privileges. The new Viceroy O'Donojú accepted the situation, thus practically recognizing the independence of Mexico in 1821. Iturbide declared himself emperor. But he had little capacity for government and was, after a period of banishment, condemned to death. The first president of the republic, Guadalupe Victoria, was inaugurated in 1824.

Thus, under the leadership of a remarkable group of individuals, the independence movement grew from Argentina in the south to Mexico in the north.

FOREIGN RECOGNITION

While the Spanish-American colonies were fighting for their independence, Henry Clay was struggling to secure recognition of their liberty by the United States. Among the many eloquent appeals he made to Congress was this:

> In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America, the United States have the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we have had or can have so much at stake. This interest concerns our politics, our commerce, our navi-

> gation. There cannot be a doubt that, Spanish America once independent, whatever may be the form of the governments established in its several parts, these governments will be animated by an American feeling and guided by an American policy. . . . But it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant and too superstitious to admit of the existence of free government. This charge of ignorance is often urged by persons themselves actually ignorant of the real condition of the people. I deny the alleged fact of ignorance; I deny the inference from that fact, if it were true, that they want capacity for free government; and I refuse assent to the further conclusion, if the fact were true, and the inference just, that we are to be indifferent to their fate. All the writers of the most established authority, Depons, Humboldt and others, concur in assigning to the people of South America great quickness, genius and particular aptitude for the acquisition of the exact sciences, and others which they have been allowed to cultivate. . . . They have nine universities, and in the city of Mexico, it is affirmed by Humboldt that there are more solid scientific establishments than in any other city even in North America.

Congress finally passed, March 19, 1822, two resolutions, one declaring that the American provinces of Spain ought to be recognized as independent nations, and another recommending that a sum be appropriated " to give due effect to such recognition." Great Britain soon did the same.

By the end of 1825, when the remnant of the Spanish forces were defeated at Ayacucho, there had arisen eight independent republics to replace the Spanish colonies: the United Provinces of La Plata (Argentina), Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Great Colombia, Peru, the United Mexican States and the Central American Federation. Brazil had established an empire separate from Portugal; Haiti, leading all other colonies, had as early as 1804 secured her independence, which was finally acknowledged by France in 1825 when Portugal also acknowledged the independence of Brazil. Spain by that date had practically acknowledged the same for her colonies. So we may think of these new countries named above as " all set " by 1825 for their long pull toward democracy.

" The Spanish Americans established a number of republics in a fit of absence of mind." In this rather extreme way does Sir John Seeley emphasize the fact that the Spaniards in America did not really intend to create a new order when they started the movement to separate themselves from the mother country. The leaders of the revolutionary movement in Spanish America were idealists and, at the same time, practical men. They had the same psychological attitudes as had the Spaniards of the peninsula and felt themselves a part of that family. They had, however, lost confidence in the rulers and believed that in Spanish America the real ideals of the race must be developed. They did not care particularly for a republican form of government; most of the leaders were monarchists and aristocrats. They believed in the class division of society as they believed in just treatment for all classes. They had practically none of the North American or English conceptions of representative institutions. Their democracy had its illustration in the old *cabildo,* a gathering of the people of a city to determine common action. The Constitution which Bolívar wrote was more reminiscent of Athens or Rome than of Philadelphia or Paris.

If it had been possible, a single kingdom or various separate ones might have been established instead of republics. But no monarch could be found who was willing or capable of assuming such responsibility, although many efforts were made. As for the creoles themselves, none of them had quite the superiority of birth and attainment to fit him for kingship. Iturbide tried it in Mexico but only succeeded in getting himself shot. Bolívar undoubtedly entertained at times the idea that he might be either monarch or life-president of a large part or of the whole of South America, but even his brilliant attainments did not make this possible.

That Bolívar fully understood the difficulties of self-government as faced by his people is seen in the famous Jamaica letter to which reference was made before. These prophecies and misgivings were not long in being realized. Immediately after the death of the Liberator, Peru invaded Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador declared their independence of Great Colombia, Bolivia was torn by internal dissension. All five countries that owed their origin to Bolívar began a long series of civil wars.

To this day, throughout Latin America, these antitheses persist: dictatorship and anarchy, clericalism and liberalism, centralism and federalism, the metropolis and the provinces, the landowner and the peon. In practically every constitution

Roman Catholicism was at first declared to be the official religion. Ecclesiastical machinery was combined with governmental, usually to maintain a dictatorship in favor of the landed classes. Under such handicaps these incipient nations began their struggle toward democracy.

V

THE HARD ROAD TOWARD DEMOCRACY

WHEN IT came to the final decision, each young candidate for nationhood followed its idealistic leanings and adopted a constitution calling for a fully developed republic analogous in general to the United States. But nothing could have been more unfortunate. The democracy of the United States seems to have been devised for a group of small, hard-working farmers and merchants; it developed under an increasingly industrial order. Latin America has never had either a majority of small landowners and merchants or an industrial civilization. How foolish, then, for Latin America to have copied a government set up for conditions in the North — though no more foolish, by the way, than for the United States government, as more recently, to give itself to writing constitutions, supervising elections and using other Yankee formulas to reform Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti and the other Caribbean countries.

What the Southern countries needed was not a government of checks and balances, as provided in the United States, but a strong central power competent to cope with the conditions and tendencies which made difficult the establishing of a united country. The Southern constitutions went to much greater lengths than ours in their declarations concerning the rights and duties of men, this in itself being perhaps an indirect expression of a distrust of their ability to effect real democracy. For while the Spaniard has always believed in the equality of men he has seldom believed in the equality of citizens. Rarely does the Latin American worry about political equality among individuals. He is willing to let someone else govern so long as that someone governs efficiently and allows him to run his own affairs. Thus it is not surprising that the Southern national congresses have never set much value on enforcing guarantees of equality as over against the energetic programs of the dictators.

The check and balance system of Anglo-Saxon democracies has had little efficacy in coping with practical and psychological conditions.

Liberty and union, democracy and efficiency — these have been the prizes sought by the Latin-American statesman. But they have proved even more difficult for him to win than for his confreres in Europe and the United States. The ideal of individual liberty has been attained in large measure, but the ideal of efficiency is still far from realization. Spain itself has, up to the present time, never secured complete union.

DIVISIVE FORCES

The petty chiefs outdid the big ones in promoting division. In every section arose *caudillos* who gathered a personal following to fight for local and national dominance. The first of these chiefs were mostly former generals in the liberating armies. In carving out for themselves their own independent districts they were simply returning to the tradition of the conquistadors. Thus Bolivia freed herself from Peru; Great Colombia, organized by Bolívar, split up into her three original parts; Peru went her own way. The provinces of La Plata were virtually divided into a dozen little contending kingdoms. Central America broke away from Mexico and separated into her original five small districts which now called themselves republics. And still the local desire for freedom was not satisfied, expressing itself further in many revolutions of outlying provinces opposed to the capital cities. On the other hand, some of the countries which failed to give any chance for development to outlying districts became strongly centralized in later years.

In countries like Peru, decentralized through lack of roads and other means of communication, local leaders have naturally opposed the government at the center, especially when their remote sections received practically no benefits from the central authorities. Consequently, when some local *caudillo* proved strong enough to move into the capital, he proceeded to assume complete charge as a national dictator. To hold his position he of course had to reward his supporters and deal severely with opponents. Accordingly, it was again perfectly natural for these opponents — those who escaped death or prison — to plot revolution. On both sides the leaders are ruthless, being trained in military tactics rather than in the peaceful herding of a well fed minority with which the chief swings his cause, as in the United States. The great majority of people in Latin America no more participate in the machinations of a revolutionary leader — except as they are inveigled by one pretense or another into his support — than the majority in the United States determine the actions of their political bosses. In fact, the most surprising thing about a Latin-American revolution, to the foreigner, is the small effect it has on everyday life.

Most Latin Americans take great pains to keep out of politics. The ordinary dictator has a tacit understanding with his people that they may pursue their own free will so long as they do not interfere with governmental affairs. Under such conditions public opinion scarcely exists and the average person, native or foreigner, feels no responsibility for the general welfare. The dictator and his group are themselves often interested only in maintaining the army and making sure that money is available.

In the majority of cases the *caudillo* has been a prototype of " the man on horseback," physically strong, quick on the trigger, energetic, astute, iron-willed, with ability to make quick decisions, and with the other characteristics that make men willing to die for a hero. If he began life as a crude *campesino* he may end in the elegance of a newly built presidential palace in the capital, surrounded by foreign friends, potentates of the church and a select group of his own people, including favorites among landed proprietors, military heroes and intellectuals. While in the early days most of the *caudillos* came from among commanders of the revolutionary armies — some of them, like Santa Cruz of Bolivia, having educational preparation, and others, like José Antonio Páez, the cowboy of Venezuela, possessing only the common sense, the daring, the cruelty and the understanding of national psychology necessary to play the role — they were later forced to add to military prowess a certain amount of statecraft or the wisdom to command it from the intellectuals called to their aid. The *caudillo* practically always came into power by a proclamation of reform, written on the field of battle and published to the nation as a "Plan" by which the new ruler would be guided in eliminating the terrible abuses of the opposition. Not infrequently a constitutional assembly was called and the nation was presented with a document, couched usually in more high sounding phrases than the "Plan," with colorful treatment of such important questions as whether the presidential term should be four or six years, whether there should or should not be a vice-president, and what powers should be granted to departments other than the executive. Often the constitution would declare presidential re-election illegal while just as often the *caudillo* would continue, with mock elections controlled by his lesser *caudillos,* to have himself re-elected; or, if the public clamor was too great, to have a trusted lieutenant succeed him temporarily.

The dictator has counted among his allies the pride, the nationalism and the patriotism of the Spanish race. The appeal to these qualities has always sustained him when, for example, some of his countrymen might suggest that Anglo-Saxon countries might offer lessons in government. Since history shows that Spain was most glorious when her rulers were most autocratic, republicans have had difficulty in persuading their nation to go against the dictator. Admiration for military talent has also been strong among our Southern neighbors; for many years following the wars of independence the generals governed. Many of the finest essays on political liberty have been written by Latin Americans, but the idealists have scarcely ever been able to control politically their own lands.

The dictators have usually shown themselves ready to lead without driving the people. They have been able to claim that since law and order were maintained, government was doing its duty. Probably the worst that can be said about them is that they never seem to realize when their time is up. Impatient of criticism, they have never been willing to accept the hour of retirement. Porfirio Díaz might have gone down in history as one of the greatest rulers of his time if he had retired ten years before he was cast out of office.

Opposed to the dictators have been the intellectuals who, while they have seldom been able to sit in the seat of the administrator, have had large influence on government, both as sharp critics and as members of the "brain trust" advising the administrator. From the beginning of the independence movement many keen students of government were found in various countries. Bernardo Monteagudo of Argentina aided San Martín and Bolívar in their legal studies. The distinguished Mariano Moreno guided Argentina in her political thinking for many years. Andrés Bello, a native of Venezuela, later an honored citizen of Chile, was known widely in Europe as well as in America as an authority on constitutional law. Juan Egaña and his son Mariano wrote Chile's first drafts of constitutional law and had wide influence in matters of political science in the early days of the republics. José Bonifacio, the adviser of Dom Pedro I of Brazil, was a learned statesman. Later, around the middle of the nineteenth century, there appeared a number of profound students of Latin-American political problems, like the famous Juan Bautista Alberdi, whose *Bases* reminds one of the writings of Alexander Hamilton. Many of the intellectuals were professors in the universities and editors of journals, both of which institutions exercised considerable influence in political life. It was not, then, so much ignorance of government as it was other causes that brought the long years of chaos — especially the failure to realize that a new political system could not be successful if the old economic system was to be continued.

DIFFICULTIES FACING THE NEW GOVERNMENTS

The difficulties which the young nations faced in developing self-government were not all man-created. The territory extended from California on the north, to the Straits of Magellan on the south — the largest continuous colonial empire in history. It contained the highest mountain ranges outside the Himalayas, ranges which divided the territory by almost impassable barriers. Vast tropical sections, with their fevers, dysentery and inertia, were still greater handicaps for the white man. Little imagination is needed to understand the difficulties of a government in keeping in touch with its people under such conditions.

As late as 1914 I met on an ocean liner a Peruvian on his way from Lima, the capital, to Iquitos, the Peruvian port on the Amazon. He shipped from Callao on the Pacific to Panama; from there he went to New York; thence he took a boat for Liverpool, from which port he boarded a regular liner that went down through the southern Atlantic to Pará, Brazil, and up the Amazon twenty-five miles to Iquitos. Of course one could organize an expedition and make his way on muleback from Lima over the sixteen-thousand-foot divide down to Iquitos; but the easiest way was via Liverpool. This journey is now made in a single day by airplane. A journey between two points in the Andes of Bolivia, formerly requiring three weeks, is now covered by a regular airplane service in three hours. Thus Bolívar's federation of states proved an impracticable dream, not only because of economic and psychological factors, but also because the difficulties of a government at Lima or Bogotá attempting to keep in touch with faraway, mountain-sundered provinces were overwhelming. It can be easily understood how impossible it was to fix exact boundary lines between provinces in territory much of which has not been mapped even today. So when the young nations adopted the principle of *uti possidetis,* which accepted the boundaries fixed in colonial grants as applicable to the new republics, they inherited a series of boundary questions that have been more fruitful of disputes than any other single factor.

Here, as in many other ways, are manifest the disadvantages of Hispanic America as compared with the United States. In spite of grave difficulties the thirteen small British colonies, compactly situated on the Atlantic coast, were able to form a united government; but the Southerners were unable to unite. Bolívar and many other early statesmen recognized the danger of division. The congress at Panama in 1826 was called especially for the purpose of working out a Hispanic-American federation. But only Peru, Colombia, Mexico and Central America sent delegates, and not even those governments adopted the scheme for unity which was approved by the conference. Various other conferences with the same objective followed the Panama gathering, but they adjourned with the same negative results. Division, with its accompanying weakness, became permanent.

Another advantage enjoyed by the United States lay in the fact that its territorial growth was gradual, giving time for assimilation. After several years of experience in testing its new Constitution, the Northern republic had its first great opportunity for enlarging its territory. This good luck was not of its own making, but arose from conditions in Europe, just as was the case so often later on when the United States profited by wars and diplomatic tangles overseas. For example, when the dice turned wrong for Napoleon in his adventures in empire, he was compelled to sell Louisiana to the young American nation for a song, just the territory it needed at the time for expansion. It is hard to imagine how long it would have taken to reach the Pacific coast, and how great would have been the obstacles, without that lucky purchase.

Again, it was fortunate that the next addition of territory was made only after there had been time to assimilate the first. It was a gradual process that added, one by one, Florida, Texas, California and Oregon. The move westward was made in successive stages and never encountered mountain barriers, such as the Andes, impassable for the covered wagon. The tremendous benefit to commercial and political life, as well as the constant reinvigoration of spiritual conceptions brought by this gradually growing frontier, is recognized as one of the greatest contributions to the national life of the United States.

Spanish America's completely different geographical and historical situation often made her frontiers disadvantageous, for she had, beyond her " Alleghanies," no great, self-supporting plains, like the Middle West, which might themselves become centers of vigorous life. The accessible lands were either unhealthful tropical districts, deserts or high mountains. Of the total territory of Mexico, for example, two-fifths is unassimilable. What good land there is has been in the hands of a favored few since colonial days. The inutility of the surrounding territory explains much of the static, unprogressive life of so many of the interior Southern cities like Arequipa and Cochabamba and Guanajuato. They represent largely the transfer of European city life of past centuries with its conservative institutions, rather than the new pioneer spirit. Mining centers, such as many of these cities have been, are notoriously weak in the development of social solidarity. In certain sections, like Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil and central Chile, where geographical conditions were more nearly similar to the frontier in the United States, progress has been similar to that of our country.

It is easily seen, then, that geographically and historically the character of Hispanic America's frontiers often made them a liability as centers of revolution rather than an asset to the central government.

CHURCH OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT

Another great obstacle to the development of a Latin-American democracy was the opposition of the Roman Catholic church. In the Catholic colony of Maryland in the United States, Lord Calvert took the lead in declaring religious freedom. But in Latin America the church combined with the landed interests to oppose republican government and public education. At the very beginning of their independence all the states made the Roman Catholic the state church. While the Inquisition was eliminated a few years afterward, its spirit remained alive in the republics. As soon as the liberals began to put into effect their ideas on popular education, suffrage, social and economic equality, liberty of conscience and of the press, they were challenged by the church authorities. Soon the line was sharply drawn and in most countries political battles were constantly fought, whatever else might be the issue, between clericals and liberals. In the early days the church owned much real estate, often engaged in various business enterprises, such as banking, controlled education, charitable institutions and cemeteries, and performed all marriages. Around this control was waged a continuous warfare between the government and the church. Government officials soon found they could make few moves without encroaching upon some prerogative claimed by the church as its special field. Since the church was richer in this world's goods than the poverty-stricken national treasuries, it was often able to gain the ascendancy.

The general outlines of this struggle may be seen by a glance at the situation in Mexico. By the Constitution of August 26, 1824, the privileges of both the ecclesiastics and the military were confirmed, but soon after the establishment of the republic efforts were made to limit the privileges of the former. The sale of certain *bienes de temporalidades* was ordered in 1829. Nevertheless, in spite of confiscations of property the church seemed increasingly prosperous, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century her wealth in Mexico was estimated at sixty-five million pesos. The liberals resented this concentration of wealth in the hands of the church and also denounced the army. An association of army and church leaders, formed to oppose the liberals, enlisted the support of the private owners of large estates, and thus wealth and influence united against the radicals.

The liberals formally opened battle on June 6, 1833, when the minister of justice issued a circular advising the clergy that they were not to deal with political affairs from the pulpit but were to restrict their preaching to the Roman Catholic religion only. The University of Mexico was suppressed on the ground that it was entirely dominated by the priests who composed its faculty. Congress decreed that the government should no longer enforce the collection of church tithes. Various privileges were taken from the ecclesiastics and a more general secularization of church property proposed. The hierarchy replied by recalling from retirement its champion, Santa Anna, who appeared in Mexico City, proclaimed the abolition of the federal system, dissolved Congress by military force, and promulgated a decree repealing all the enactments passed by Congress against the privileges and power of the church.

As a result of this struggle Mexico, under the leadership of Benito Juárez and with the Constitution of 1857, became the first Southern country to separate church and state. The reform laws provided that all property of regular and secular clergy be confiscated for the benefit of the nation. At the same time all religious fraternities and brotherhoods were suppressed, and all similar organizations were prohibited for the future. Marriage was made a civil contract; civil judges were given the duty of registering births and deaths and the right to perform marriages. The clergy were denied the right to control cemeteries, and distinctive religious garbs were prohibited outside of churches. Church schools were to be inspected. Religious toleration was granted for the first time in Mexico.

This seemed, however, only to aggravate the question, since the church never accepted the restrictions. The way in which this struggle between church and state has retarded progress in Mexico during the last few years is well known.

A majority of the countries have now separated church and state. Brazil followed Mexico when it established the republic in 1889. Cuba and Panama provided for separation in their original constitutions. Ecuador, where the most extreme Catholic state in history was conducted under García Moreno, had a violent liberal reaction, and not only disestablished the church but prohibited the entrance of foreign priests. In 1917 the reform Constitution of Uruguay separated from the state the church with which it had been in partnership since 1830. In 1925 one of the most faithful of all the church's daughters, Chile, where the clergy had largely escaped the moral stricture passed on them in many other countries, decided to dissolve the ancient partnership. Most of the Central American countries have gone through long struggles with the church and have ended in disestablishing it. Peru and Colombia have been the most consistent friends of the Vatican, and the church in each of these countries still holds a preferred position, although the liberals are urging separation. It would be hard to find a revolution in Latin America in which, in a large or small way, the church question has not entered, and it is still a divisive issue in most of these Southern lands.[1]

It is unfortunate that the quarrel still persists, but particularly lamentable that it is centered around political rather than social or spiritual issues. The liberals who have opposed the church have usually done so not because they considered the church's immense wealth antisocial or her inquisitional attitudes unsound theologically, but because these things made her powerful politically. In the same way the church has often resented the efforts of the state to limit or control her, not primarily because she was interested in religious liberty or the social uplift of the poor, but because she desired to maintain her political power. The struggle has too often lost spiritual or social significance and has degenerated into a war for political control with no quarter given on either side.

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[1] The best single volume discussing this subject is *The Church and State in Latin America,* by F. L. Meacham.

VI

FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

AN INQUIRY into the causes of revolutions in the Hispanic-American states necessitates reference to foreign interference in their affairs. Every economic and political war in Europe or in the United States has had its disturbing repercussions in the South. It is impossible to deal more than superficially here with "dollar diplomacy" as well as with that of the pound, the franc and the mark. But it is clear that outside influences have sometimes openly, more often secretly, upset conditions and started revolutions. The century-old trade battle between Great Britain and the United States, the claims of Spain on her former colonies, the interventions of France, the ambitions of Germany and the imperialistic attitude of the United States have been the cause of the major crosscurrents that have disturbed Latin-American peace. Attempts by Latin Americans to dominate neighboring lands have also been the bases of many a revolution. Uruguay was long the football in the struggle between Brazil and Argentina. Conditions in Chile, Bolivia or Peru often affected the peace of their neighbors, and Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador were likely to react on one another when a disturbance took place in any one of them. The interference of neighbors was particularly notable in Central America, where most of the numerous revolutions had some relation to conditions in countries next door or to the machinations of great powers seeking canal routes or commercial advantages.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

To trace the struggles among Latin-American countries over boundary disputes would be an interminable task. Just as the United States had three major international wars during the nineteenth century, so did South America, if the struggles during the chaotic days immediately following independence be excluded from consideration. The first of these major wars (1842–52) was led by Rosas, the Argentine dictator, on one side, and on the other by a combination of Uruguayan and Brazilian forces for a time backed by France and England. The object was the same as that of many earlier struggles: the control of Uruguay. During eight years of this war Montevideo was under siege. In the end Rosas was compelled to give up and Uruguay was once again free, with Brazil the dominating influence.

The second major struggle, growing out of the same complicated question of supremacy in the Río de la Plata, was the Paraguayan War (1865–70), the bloodiest of all South American conflicts. When Dom Pedro II of Brazil intervened in behalf of one of the parties in the incessant struggle in Uruguay, López II, the Paraguayan dictator, looking for a chance to try out his splendidly trained army, took the opposite side. Argentina was soon drawn into the conflict by her refusal to allow Paraguayan troops to cross one of her provinces. The combined forces of Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil ultimately conquered the intrepid López, who had driven his people so cruelly that when peace was signed there were left, out of a million population, some 225,000 women and 25,000 men, practically none of whom were able to bear arms. No annexation of territory was demanded after this victory.

The third major conflict, the War of the Pacific (1879–83), was also a boundary and commercial dispute. The rich region of the nitrates, which Chilean enterprise was most active in exploiting, lay for the most part in Bolivia and Peru, although the boundaries were in dispute. When these two countries laid too heavy taxes and restrictions on the Chilean merchants and miners, Chile, which had been carefully training her army, fell upon her two northern neighbors and with lightning rapidity put Bolivia out of the war and captured Lima. After a two-year occupancy of Peru's capital, during which the Chilean soldiers committed all kinds of barbarities, Chile dictated a peace, disregarding the United States which endeavored to mediate. Peru ceded outright to Chile the rich province of Tarapacá and agreed that the provinces of Tacna and Arica should be held by the latter for ten years, when a plebiscite should determine final ownership. Bolivia a little later ceded to Chile the rich nitrate province of Antofogasta, her only access to the sea. Thus was created the Tacna and Arica question which was a constant threat to peace among South American nations until it was settled in 1929, when Chile took Arica and Peru took Tacna. The landlocking of Bolivia accounts in part for her war on Paraguay in 1932, and will remain a troublesome international question until satisfactorily settled.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RIVALRIES

The very struggle for independence itself indicated how largely the future of these young nations would be involved in the oncoming commercial war between Britain and the United States. Prime Minister Canning advocated recognition of the new governments for two reasons: British commercial advantage, and prospect of defeating the supposed plan of the United States to place itself at the head of an American league. Henry Clay advocated recognition by the United States for like reasons of commerce and political strategy. This same rivalry had a prominent place in the declarations of Canning and of President Monroe. To the Panama congress in 1826 Great Britain sent Edward J. Dawkins as an observer to watch any project for putting the United States at the head of an American federation. The instructions written by Clay for the ill-fated United States delegates, who never arrived, contained several paragraphs in regard to the curtailment of British commerce. About 1820 Washington and London began sparring to determine who would dominate Cuba — a quarrel which continued to disturb Caribbean peace for more than half a century.

Britain's ambitions in Mexico, Texas and Central America were long a disturbing element in the internal affairs of those countries, especially as the United States had the same ambitions; and the two countries carried on their rivalries usually at the expense of the helpless Latin-American lands. No one will ever know how far the numerous revolutions in Mexico are traceable to such rivalries. They started at the time when the first United States minister, Joel Poinsett, went to Mexico in

1825 and began the notorious competition with the British minister, Ward, for first place in directing the affairs of the country, and continued on through the troublesome struggle between the American and British petroleum interests as a part of the 1910 revolution, and later. The files of the state department at Washington are crowded with documents relating to this controversy.

The history of British Guiana, British Honduras and the Falkland Islands is a reminder of early British movements to influence the continent. In 1806 Great Britain occupied Buenos Aires, but was soon driven out by local forces, the rout putting a stop to Britain's early territorial ambitions in the Río de la Plata but resulting in better trade relations. She returned with France to blockade the same port in 1846.

Anglo-American rivalries in Central America almost brought about war. British settlers in Belize spread into the back country, as Americans had in Texas, and in 1848 British Honduras was claimed as a colony. In 1841 Britain, with the evident purpose of dominating the canal route, backed the king of the Mosquito tribe in extending his territory to Greytown, Nicaragua. This action aroused the patriots of the United States who supported William Walker, the filibuster, in an expedition to Central America that was to advance the position of the United States in the region. Following so soon after the spoliation of Mexico, this advance filled all Latin America with alarm over the "Yankee peril." The situation became so tense that the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Great Britain, but the latter retreated from her determination to control the canal route and the quarrel died down. Commercial interests of the two countries have kept up a continual struggle, at times backing financially this or that governmental group in order to win commercial advantage. Such procedure has caused many a revolution, as was particularly apparent in the Tinoco revolution of 1917 in Costa Rica.

Should the United States annex Canada, Cuba and Haiti? This and similar topics were the subjects of Fourth of July orators in 1895, when the United States was stirred over the boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. Many Americans who had never before heard of Venezuela and who considered all South Americans "niggers," were ready to fight in protest against the supposed violation of the Monroe Doctrine by an imperialistic European power! "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition": this was the modest declaration of Secretary of State Olney as to how far our government should dictate the policies of other American governments. The outbreak of the Boer War, and other circumstances, caused the British to back down gracefully, intimating that they would support a conference of all the interested European powers called by the United States to prepare an endorsement of the Monroe Doctrine. Fortunately the United States was too wise to call such a conference; but unfortunately the British, from that time on, encouraged the United States in considering itself the boss on the American continent, responsible to Great Britain and the rest of Europe for all attacks on their interests by the revolutionary governments of the Caribbean.

Great Britain went still further in encouraging United States dominance in the Caribbean when she signed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in 1901, by which she gave to the United States all her previously acquired rights of joint control of the proposed isthmian canal. At the same time she reduced the strength of her naval bases in Jamaica and other islands of the West Indies, which today contain no modern fortifications or supply centers. The last indication of this policy of "you tickle me and I'll tickle you" is found in the British note agreeing to sign the Kellogg Pact, where it is stated:

> There are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our [Great Britain's] peace and safety. Their protection against attack is to the British empire a measure of self-defense. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's government in Great Britain accepts the new treaty on the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect. The government of the United States has comparable interests, any disregard of which by a foreign power they have declared that they would regard as an unfriendly act.

This encouragement by Europe of United States intervention whenever European commercial interests were threatened in a Latin-American country, meant that our country was time and again bringing down upon itself Southern condemnation because it was continually pulling chestnuts out of the fire for some European power. No excuse for our numerous interventions following the Venezuelan affair has more often been given by the state department than the claim that the interests of Europeans were being threatened. It has all been an interesting game between John Bull and Uncle Sam, the prize being Latin America, with that section no more than the pawn on the chessboard. The political rivalries between the two Anglo-Saxon powers have now practically ceased, with each country agreeing to respect the special preserves of the other, but the commercial war continues with ever increasing zeal. The United States has bested its opponent in Mexico and the Caribbean, and it is now nip-and-tuck in Brazil, Chile and Peru, which for a century were special British preserves. Only in Argentina, where she has investments around a billion pounds sterling, does England hold a definite lead.

OTHER FOREIGN INTERESTS

The French have relied largely on the overwhelming cultural influence which they have enjoyed in Latin America since the revolutionary period. But they have had their military parties also. One of these, conducted against Mexico in 1838, was called the " Pastry War " because it resulted from the claim of a French pastry cook. France intervened actively in the affairs of Argentina and Uruguay from 1838 to 1840 and worked directly toward reducing the influence of the United States in Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo, after she had, in 1804, lost Haiti which she had intended to use as a base for building a great American empire.

A most serious threat to inter-American peace occurred during the reign of Louis Napoleon, when France put forth in Mexico the most strenuous effort ever made by an outside nation to control the life of a Latin-American country. " We have an interest in seeing the republic of the United States becoming powerful and prosperous, but we have no interest in seeing it seize all the Gulf of Mexico, dominate from there the Antilles and South America and become the sole dispenser of the products of the New World," declared the ambitious Napoleon. The English and the Spanish, who had at first joined France in the Mexican venture for the purpose of collecting debts, soon abandoned Napoleon, so that his only ally in setting up the Maximilian empire was the pope. The failure of the venture, due to the heroic resistance of Juárez, and to the aid of the United States government as soon as it could release its troops from the Civil War, is well known.

Germany came late into the field — except in immigrants, who started to southern Brazil in 1824 — but she drove hard and fast. From 1896 to the beginning of the World War, her commerce with Latin America increased 325 per cent; her colonists, of both farmer and commercial classes, multiplied to some five hundred thousand; her ships were the fastest, her goods were the cheapest, her banks the most accommodating. German cultural societies and German schools aided by the home government sprang up in every Latin-American capital. The German foreign office began to take a lively interest in inter-American problems. It was especially active in attempting mediation between the United States and Spain over the Cuban question preceding the Spanish-American War.

Germany's various involvements in the financial troubles of Caribbean countries led to her sending military forces to Nicaragua in 1878 and to Haiti in 1898. Her most famous intervention was in connection with the claims on Venezuela in 1902–3. The collection of claims, of course, has been a major cause of disturbance in Latin America. While the United States in the early days made no effort to prohibit numerous attempts of this kind, with the opening of the twentieth century it began to assert control of the Caribbean. When Germany and England, along with Italy, established a blockade of Venezuela in 1902 and bombarded the fort of San Carlos, public opinion in the United States demanded assertion of American rights. President Theodore Roosevelt warned the German government that the question must be arbitrated without occupation of Venezuelan territory; otherwise Dewey's fleet would proceed to Venezuelan waters. This threat was not published and Roosevelt promised the German ambassador to congratulate the kaiser publicly if he accepted arbitration.

Public opinion in Great Britain had already demanded arbitration; the proposal was accepted and the famous case referred to the tribunal of The Hague.

During the World War, German propaganda in Latin America against the United States was heavy, the best known case being the note of Secretary of State Arthur Zimmermann, promising to restore to Mexico the lost territory of Texas and California in exchange for support. Secretary of State Lansing declared that our intervention in Haiti in 1916 was due to Germany's plan to occupy that country. Many such reasons — or excuses, as the case might be — have been offered for United States interventions in recent years, but few proofs have been submitted to show that a European country was actually ready thus to risk, for a minor advantage in the Caribbean, war with the United States.

Although since the World War Germany has ceased to be a political power in Latin America, her business drive has been renewed with considerable success, her colonists have begun a new move toward South America and, as already noted, the Hitler propaganda has been spread throughout these lands. An important Hispanic-American center, established in Berlin, is publishing literature and promoting cultural and commercial exchange.

It might have been expected that the mother countries would interfere with their young offspring more than did other nations. But such has not been the case. Portugal, a pigmy in comparison with her enormous daughter, has made practically no effort to meddle in Brazil's affairs. Spain made several attempts to recapture her lost colonies. About 1846 General Flores, one of the former aides of Bolívar, engaged in filibustering expeditions, aided by the queen of Spain, to restore the mother country's power. From 1860 to 1865 Santo Domingo actually returned to the Spanish flag. In 1866 Spain sent a diplomatic mission, accompanied by battleships, to make certain demands on Peru. The result was a war in which Chile aided Peru. The bombardment of Callao and afterward of the defenseless port of Valparaiso by the Spaniards, with the United States war vessels refusing to protect the port, is often referred to by Chileans as the one occasion when the United

States should have defended by force the Monroe Doctrine and refused to do so. The long struggle between Spain and her colony Cuba, in which the latter appealed constantly to various American republics for aid, was a continuous cause of disturbance. Since the Spanish-American War, Spain has exercised only a cultural influence on her daughter states in America.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

While the Latin Americans were at first concerned about European interference in their affairs, since the war between the United States and Mexico they have feared most the constant intervention of the " big brother " of the North. When our thirteen original colonies united and began to expand toward the south and west, the feeling inevitably grew that for strategic reasons the vigorous young republic must have a dominant influence on this continent. John Quincy Adams declared in a Cabinet meeting in November, 1819, that the world must be

> familiarized with the idea of considering our proper dominion to be the continent of North America. From the time when we became an independent people it was as much a law of nature that this should become our pretension as that the Mississippi should flow to the sea. Spain had possessions upon our southern and Great Britain upon our northern borders. It was impossible that centuries should elapse without finding them annexed to the United States.

On December 3, 1823, President James Monroe sent to Congress the famous message in which he declared:

> The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by an European power. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by an European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In its original form the Monroe Doctrine pleased Latin Americans, who saw in it an instrument of protection against the schemes of Europe. But in view of its later interpretations they are now practically unanimous in judging that it has rather caused the United States to meddle in the internal affairs of Latin America than kept Europe out of those affairs.

One of the first moves made by the United States to control the Caribbean was to express displeasure at the efforts of Colombia and Mexico to free Cuba around 1820.[1] The United States feared that a free Cuba might fall a prey to England or France, and therefore preferred to have the island wait for freedom until such time as the United States was better able to guarantee that she would not become the victim of some nation which through her, as President Madison said, "might make a fulcrum of that possession against the commerce and security of the United States."

This question of Cuba was to the fore in the United States when Simón Bolívar called the Panama congress to meet in 1826. At first Bolívar did not plan to invite the United States, but finally did so on the insistence of Mexico and Colombia. President Adams, under the urging of Henry Clay, advised acceptance of the invitation. But Congress was desirous of playing a lone hand in Spanish America and debated the invitation for about four months. And when it finally decided to accept, it was too late; one poor delegate could not start from home before the meeting at Panama had adjourned; the other delegate had died on his way. Thus our first attempt to participate in a league of nations!

U. S. IMPERIALISM

In 1845 the former Mexican state of Texas was annexed by the United States. Two years later the Mexican War resulted in the annexation of New Mexico and California — about one-third of the territory which remained to the Mexican republic. This annexation program, from the careful planning of American colonization in Texas to the enforced peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo, had much to do with internal Mexican disturbances.

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[1] For a most interesting comment on the United States attitude toward Cuba and Haiti in those days see Henry Clay's instructions to the United States delegation to the Panama Congress. *International Conference* (Washington, 1890), LV, pp. 138–45.

With the annexation of Texas and other Mexican territory, interest in the Caribbean was renewed because of the recognized need of a trans-isthmian route to the Pacific. The need was heightened when gold was discovered in California in 1849, and the route thither via Panama and Nicaragua proved the easiest. From the standpoint of our southern states, our " manifest destiny " also called for the extension of slave territory further south.

The United States concluded a treaty with Colombia on December 12, 1846, by which the Colombian government guaranteed " to the government of the United States the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama " and " the United States guaranteed to New Granada the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned isthmus."

During the Spanish-American War the construction of the canal across the isthmus was shown to be imperative. As soon as that war was over the work was begun; it was finished in 1914. Its completion marked the adoption of a new Caribbean policy. The necessity, thus proclaimed, of our securing control throughout Central America and the islands of the Caribbean, explains the policy of intervention, military occupation, control of customs and diplomatic dictation which the United States maintained from that time on in Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama and, to a lesser extent, in other Caribbean countries.

The strategic necessity for controlling these Caribbean countries was emphasized particularly during the World War. Before that time the United States had secured domination of the Isthmus of Panama by prohibiting Colombia from landing her troops in Panama to suppress a revolution and by recognizing the newly set up Panamanian republic three days after its birth. President Roosevelt put it, " I took the Canal Zone." The Platt Amendment of 1901, which Cuba was compelled to accept, gave us control of that island and of Guantánamo bay as a naval base. Abrogation of the amendment in 1934 was plainly an act of elementary justice to Cuba.

In 1912 United States intervention started in Nicaragua; it meant the maintenance of a marine guard in that country for twenty years, with the exception of a few months. It was finally withdrawn only in 1932. In 1905 the United States had begun the collection of customs in Santo Domingo, a practice which led more and more into a dictatorial policy toward that republic's welfare. A naval squadron was assigned in 1908 to permanent service in the Caribbean, with headquarters at Panama.[2]

The solicitor of the state department in 1912, in a memorandum on "the right to protect citizens in foreign countries," stated:

> . . . for while it has been the studied policy, most rigidly adhered to . . . to refrain from interfering in purely political affairs of other countries . . . yet no nation, it would seem, has with more frequency than this government used its military forces for the purpose of occupying temporarily parts of foreign countries in order to secure adequate safety and protection for its citizens and their property.[3]

Following the World War, practical North American businessmen and bankers undertook to give to Latin America the advantages of our modern machine age, and invested something like six billion dollars there. Along with the growth of these investments came also the growth of the habit of intervention. The reasons for these interventions as given by the United States government have been about the same as those given by the Japanese government for its intervention in Manchuria. Japan claimed vital interests in Manchuria, insisting that her very life depended upon having preponderant influence in that land; that she had treaties with China which protected her interests; that China failed to maintain order and that Japanese citizens and a Japanese railroad had been attacked. She resented the interference by the League of Nations or any other outside party, and claimed her right to settle matters as between Japan and China alone. The Japanese also claimed that there was outside interference with their rights in Manchuria, especially from Russia. These are precisely the same reasons that the United States government has given for intervention in

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[2] *Report of Secretary of the Navy* (1921), p. 8.

[3] Ruben Clark, *The Right to Protect Citizens in Foreign Countries by Landing Forces* (Washington, 1912), p. 30.

Nicaragua, in Panama, in Haiti and other Caribbean countries. Japan's sin was that she came too late. President Coolidge in his message to Congress, explaining our sending of troops to Nicaragua, said:

> The proprietary rights of the United States in the Nicaraguan canal route, with the necessary implications growing out of it affecting the Panama canal, together with the obligations flowing from the investments of all classes of our citizens in Nicaragua, place us in a position of peculiar responsibility. . . . American as well as foreign bondholders will undoubtedly look to the United States for the protection of their interests. . . .

This attitude is resented in the Caribbean just as China resents Japan's intervention in Manchuria. China appeals to her sovereignty, to the principles of international law and justice, to the League of Nations. She claims that treaties with Japan were imposed and that Japanese citizens and property are not endangered in Manchuria. Central Americans claim that the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was signed under duress, that American lives and property were not endangered in Nicaragua, and that the difficulties between the United States and Nicaragua should have been settled by means of Pan-American peace parleys.

Nicaragua is not the only Caribbean country in which the United States has played a part similar to that of Japan in Manchuria. A United States Senate committee, reporting its investigations into the occupation of Haiti by this country in 1915, quotes Admiral Caperton, in charge of the forces landed in Haiti that year, as cabling Washington as follows:

> Successful negotiation of treaty is predominant part of present mission. After encountering many difficulties, treaty situation at present looks more favorable than usual. This has been effected by the exercise of military pressure at propitious moment in negotiations.

The same kind of force seems to have been used to secure an acceptable constitution in that country. A few months after the above dispatch General Cole cabled to the secretary of the navy (June 17, 1916):

> Unless contrary instructions received, if necessary to prevent passage proposed constitution, I intend dissolve National Assembly, through president, if possible, otherwise direct.

In reply the navy department vested General Cole "with full discretionary power." The next day General Smedley Butler, acting under instructions from General Cole, dissolved the assembly. The Haitian newspapers were ordered by General Cole to omit all comment on this action.

Few realize how extensively and with what rapidity the "far-flung battle line" of the United States has grown since those early days, and it is a positive shock to the average North American to travel through the Caribbean, come face to face with the dominance of the United States, and discover the ways by which it is maintained.

In 1924, returning from a long trip through the Caribbean, the author encountered the tremendous drive of the American government and American business to control these Southern lands, and saw the United States marines in shameless attack on innocent peasants in Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua; he expressed his indignation in an article published in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the title "Imperialistic America." He there stated:

> In these smaller countries of the South, controlled by our soldiers, our bankers and our oil kings, we are developing our Irelands, our Egypts, and our Indias. . . . We are piling up hatreds, suspicions, records for exploitation and destruction of sovereignty in Latin America, such as have never failed in all history to react in war, suffering, and defeat of high moral and spiritual ideals.

At that time the financial policies of eleven of the twenty Latin-American republics were directed by North Americans officially appointed, and in six of them the financial agents were backed by American military forces on the ground.

The author was attacked and mercilessly abused for his statements. Yet in 1933 he heard no less a person than the secretary of state of the United States, as a delegate to the Pan-American conference at Montevideo, take practically every position he had maintained. Government partnership with bankers, military intervention, secret diplomatic pressure, various means of supporting dictators favorable to United States concessionaires, all were roundly condemned by Secretary Cordell Hull, who was supported by President Roosevelt in pledging that such policies would no longer be pursued.

Here is a change of attitude on the part of a powerful government which is worthy of being recorded.

This and other signs seem to indicate that we are approaching the end of the period of modern imperialism. With the United States offering independence to the Philippines and to Puerto Rico and abrogating the Platt Amendment on Cuba, with British withdrawal of protectorates over Egypt and Iraq and French over Syria, not only are the protests of liberal-minded citizens being heard, but clearly conditions have changed. Notwithstanding the belated efforts of Italy and Japan, big nations are beginning to realize that control of little countries often entails more expense and worry than benefits in trade preference and strategic advantages are worth. Distant naval stations may serve as convenient storehouses but they also call for a larger navy to protect them. Political dominance of another land requires the concession of special tariff privileges prejudicial to home products. Moreover, when a big country like the United States finds itself facing a great international crisis like the recent one, it loses much of its zeal to reform the rest of the world. And as for interventions, the old arguments for protecting investments, such as those already quoted from President Coolidge, have little appeal. After the recent exposures of high finance among bankers and petroleum kings, who wants to go to war with a neighboring country to protect the property of such barons? Granted that such interventions may have helped the big oil and financial groups, they have always greatly curtailed the ordinary legitimate trade of our merchants.

With this brief outline of the interference of foreign nations in the affairs of Latin America we must here content ourselves. But it is hoped that enough has been said to emphasize to the reader the great importance of taking into account such foreign interference when forming judgments concerning the evolution of the Southern countries. Fortunately, while commercial wars continue to be fought as keenly as ever, it seems as though Latin Americans may look forward to a future with far less interference in their political life than has been evident in the past.

PROGRESS DESPITE DIFFICULTY

When one considers all the difficulties faced by Hispanic-American countries during their first century of independence, the advance made toward democratic organization seems remarkable. If revolutions and dictatorships were unfavorable to education and immigration, at least the system in vogue resulted in calling to leadership the most virile personalities. Lord Bryce and others have pointed out that seldom does the political system of the United States bring the strongest man to the presidency — probably because this country has come to fear revolution more than any other possibility, even though Thomas Jefferson did say that nations could keep their freshness only by revolution.

At least, Latin America has been saved from stagnation by conditions which have made it rather easy for a vigorous leader of men to climb to power and oppose now the great landed interests, now the powerful church, now the foreign exploiters. Without these great political upheavals, Latin America might have continued for a much longer time the same stagnant life she lived during the three hundred years of colonial experience. Having become accustomed to violent changes she has today little fear of admitting the new ideas which, in the present condition of the world, are so likely suddenly to sweep over a nation. It is not nearly so difficult for governments like Uruguay and Mexico to introduce a new order as it is for more stable countries like the United States. Even slow-moving Brazil has recently adopted, in a time of peace, a new Constitution and has reorganized her system of government. Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, Peru and Ecuador have all completely rewritten their constitutions, making many radical changes. But in the United States, where the first Constitution adopted more than a century ago is still retained, any suggestion about writing a new fundamental law is viewed with alarm.

By 1875 a number of Southern countries had definitely emerged from the period of anarchy and started on the road toward an organized national life. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, and to some extent Colombia and Peru, while they still had revolutions, were definitely engaged in a positive program of improving crops, building railroads and port works, developing international trade and enlarging public education facilities. Brazil and Chile have never had more than minor armed disturbances. After 1890 Argentina had no revolution for forty years, and Colombia entered a definite period of peace with the opening of the new century. Mexico had peace during the long dominance of Porfirio Díaz, from 1876 to 1910. The revolutions, when they did occur, were not nearly so destructive of order and life as is commonly believed in Anglo-Saxon countries. It is, of course, impossible to calculate with precision the cost in life and money of such uprisings, but a distinguished Colombian, Dr. Sanín Cano, writing in the *Pan American Bulletin,* estimates the cost from 1824 to 1924 as 418 million pounds sterling — about the amount spent in eighteen days' fighting during the World War.[4] A Central American writer estimated that in all the Central American revolutions of a century not as many people were killed as were killed by automobiles in the United States in 1930 alone.

When the United States celebrated the centennial of its independence in 1876, it had in many respects attained no more ideal situation than had several Latin-American republics when they celebrated their centennial in 1910. In 1810 Latin America's population was estimated at fifteen million, in 1860 at twenty-five million and in 1910 at eighty million. Her foreign commerce increased 400 per cent from 1810 to 1860 and 500 per cent from 1860 to 1913. Popular education grew during the century of independence from practically zero to the point where every Latin-American country had established its national system, reaching from the primary school to the university, and had also established, at least theoretically, compulsory schooling for all citizens. Slavery had been eliminated in each country through entirely peaceful means. From the provision in every constitution allowing only the Roman Catholic church, religious tolerance had attained official declaration in all countries except Peru (where it was admitted in 1915). Great cities, comparable to the finest in the world, had been built and beautified. Campaigns for public health had begun, labor legislation had been inaugurated, important daily papers and literary publications had been developed. Latin America had come to occupy a place at the council table of the nations and was recognized as a leader in settling disputes through arbitration. Tides of immigration had set in from Europe and exchange of commerce with the growing lands was eagerly sought by the great industrial countries.

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[4] The direct cost of the last war for munitions, etc., is given at 186 billion dollars by Buell, *International Relations,* p. 501.

It looked, at the turn of the century, as if Latin America were about to fulfill the requirements of respectability as laid down by the rich industrial nations. Under the tutelage of the big powers the South began to eliminate revolution and illiteracy. To encourage order, the United States began its policy of landing marines to suppress revolutions and adopted the rule of not recognizing governments set up by armed movements. But along with the rest of the world, Hispanic America has within the last few years again turned to revolution. However, it is a new kind of revolution. Formerly isolated, these countries have recently been invaded by new ideas which have brought about a different sort of uprising, social and economic rather than political. Before we study these new movements we should take a glance at the individual states to note how, in spite of their common kinship, each has developed along its own lines.

VII

EVOLUTION OF VARIOUS STATES

ONE of the peculiarities of Hispanic America is the variety found in each of the countries within the unity of the whole. Practically every section, because of peculiar geographic and racial conditions, illustrates a special phase of the general evolution. It is an interesting game to try — just as one looks out of the port hole of his ship as it approaches shore and takes in at one glance a concentrated view of a whole countryside — to get a composite view of each of these lands in its evolutionary process.

THE TRIUMPH OF TRADE — ARGENTINA

Argentina is the best example of a nation conquering the difficulties of distances, lack of population and rival interests. It was a long time before that great, sprawling country, under which Spain had included most of what is now Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia, could finally determine upon territorial boundaries and form of government.

She is the example par excellence of the successful molding of divergent elements into a united people. The commercial incentive here was more dominant — and is today — than in any other part of Spanish America. When Spain insisted on the impossible plan that Buenos Aires, on the Atlantic, carry on its trade with Europe through the Pacific, sending and receiving its goods over the Andes through Lima and Panama, there seemed little left for the Buenos Aires merchants except to engage in contraband trade. This they did in a large way. In this commercial atmosphere, far from the center of Spanish authority, there was less formalism and more democracy than in Lima or Bogotá. For Buenos Aires on the east coast was a frontier town, far removed from the effete western capital of Lima, just as San Francisco in the early days was removed from the conservative and restricted atmosphere of Philadelphia and Washington.

Because of the good trade opportunities in Buenos Aires the British long had regarded that city with covetous eyes. In 1806 they actually captured it with a military force. But, single-handed, before the Monroe Doctrine had ever been heard of, its citizens recaptured their city. The first British loan to the Buenos Aires government was floated during the administration of President Rodríguez (1820–24), when Bernardino Rivadavia was the guiding spirit in a remarkable move for reform. Rivadavia, to whom Argentina erected a monument in 1932 as the greatest of her citizens, had traveled through Europe looking for a prince to rule his land. Finding none, he returned to begin the movement for uniting the wild gauchos of the plains with the urban-minded people of Buenos Aires, in order to build a nation. This effort at reconstruction embraced universal suffrage, general amnesty, improved port and postal facilities, encouragement of immigration, regulation of the treasury, founding of new schools (including a university), control of religious orders — in fact setting the foundations for most of the solid principles which have assured Argentina's great development.

About this time (1824) the United States and British governments extended recognition and it seemed that the status of the young republic was established. But in 1826 Brazil and Argentina again were at war over the Banda Oriental (Uruguay). Under these conditions Rivadavia, feeling the necessity of a central authority to carry on the war, broke the agreement previously made with the other Argentine provinces that each should govern itself and had himself declared president of the republic. The war with Brazil was finally settled through British mediation and the Banda Oriental, now definitely called Uruguay, was organized as an independent buffer state, a kind of Belgium in South America.

In the meantime there had developed a fierce struggle between Buenos Aires and the provinces, led by Facundo Quiroga, "The Tiger of the Plains," made famous by Sarmiento's book, *Facundo*. Quiroga, under the banner *Religión y fueros*, "religion and privileges," stirred the cowboys to fight Buenos Aires. In an effort for peace, Rivadavia resigned the presidency in 1827. He went to defeat as so many other reformers had gone because he failed to give sufficient consideration to the individualism of the local gauchos. He tried to transform barbarous provinces into a European nation. But he was seventy years ahead of his day. After twenty-five years of experimentation with all kinds of governments, revolts, confiscations and exiling, chaos reigned.

As usual under such conditions, a man who knew what he wanted appeared to take charge of the situation. Juan Manuel Rosas, who ruled Buenos Aires from 1829 to 1852, was a typical *caudillo*. More cowboy than the gauchos themselves, an expert in the rodeo, a delightful companion around the campfire, a strong man and a bully, he yet came from an aristocratic family and maintained connections with those highest in financial circles. Like Machado of Cuba in recent years with his secret society, the *Porra,* Rosas had his secret gang of spies and murderers. It was called *Mazorca* because its members stuck as close together as the grains on an ear of corn. The populace later on, however, changed the name to *Más-horca,* "more gallows," because of the frequent hangings of political opponents. All the liberal and cultural leaders who represented the best in Argentine life were banished — Sarmiento, Alberdi, Mitre, Echevarría, Mármol, to mention only a few. Rosas used every trick of the dictator: favors to political and business supporters, patriotic appeal for backing against foreign intrusions, insistence on order and freedom of trade, exiling of liberals, and fostering of a reputation for financial strength. He combined the keenness of a Texas ranger with the ruthlessness of a Chicago racketeer. How successful he was with the business interests is shown by the fact that when his bloody reign finally came to an end the principal English merchants in Buenos Aires signed a petition requesting him to reconsider his resignation, a precedent followed by the die-hard American businessmen who in Mexico even today desire the return of a Porfirio Díaz, or the trader who wants to boost business by another war. Rosas was finally defeated (1852) by one of his former supporters, General Justo José de Urquiza, governor of Entre Ríos, backed by Uruguay and Brazil.

Like most dictators Rosas did much to unite the country.

A student of his people, he understood how to combine the unifying program of Rivadavia with the local autonomy of Quiroga. Ten years after his retirement to England, where he lived the life of a country gentleman, Argentina was definitely set on the road to progress. As already pointed out in the chapter on race, returned exiles like Sarmiento, Alberdi and Mitre set the country on a new policy favoring white immigration. People and capital from Europe crowded into the country.

With the inauguration in 1862 of Bartolomé Mitre, the first president of all Argentina and one of the greatest of South American statesmen, the grip of revolution was broken. Railroads were built; great stretches of farming lands, taken from the Indians, were given as rewards to soldiers and sold to foreigners; strong banks were set up and a business administration inaugurated which still dominates the Argentine scene. A strong Socialist party and a labor movement were later developed, but thus far they are no match for the powerful families who control the best of the land and the press. Argentina is the most European of American nations. She draws her largest inspiration from conservative England and France. Buenos Aires might have been thus named because of the "good airs" that blow so refreshingly through the city from the pampas and the sea, but today the good airs from all the world fan this mighty metropolis where one meets the great and the near-great in commerce, in diplomacy, in music and in philosophy — the Paris and New York of South America.

PEACE UNDER OLIGARCHY — CHILE

More quickly than any other of its young sisters did the republic of Chile find the path to peace. After independence was declared the same kind of turbulent struggle for power took place as followed independence in other nations. But political parties embodying definite platforms were early organized. In 1830 the conservatives, in a sanguinary battle, were victorious and began their rule which extended with only one major interruption (the civil war during the presidency of Balmaceda) to 1920. The leader of the conservatives, Diego Portales, the real founder of the Chilean republic, was an extraordinary businessman with keen understanding of his people and their problems. He chose to work somewhat on the sidelines as minister and adviser rather than as chief executive. The Constitution which he drafted in 1833 had the peculiar honor of continuing in force until 1925. It was a conservative document, providing for a highly centralized government, the president having the power of absolute veto, with a conservative senate, close relationships with the Roman Catholic church, property qualifications for the highest office holders, and definite guarantees of liberty and private property.

Four presidents ruled, each for a period of ten years, from 1831 to 1871, and others followed in unbroken periods of five years until 1891. In that year the Congress, dominated by the landed proprietors who for a hundred years had been the real power in Chile, became so reactionary that it was challenged by President José Manuel Balmaceda, one of the outstanding liberal reformers of South America. But in the civil war which followed he was defeated by the congressional forces and committed suicide. From that time until 1920, when Arturo Alessandri was elected on a reform platform, the conservative steam-roller continued in perfect operation.

Chile has the reputation of being a strong, virile, united nation with a charming people. But she knows what she wants and when she wants it. Her national motto is, "By reason or by force." When Santa Cruz, president of Bolivia, developed a movement for unity with Peru in 1838, Chile made war on him and destroyed the union. Fifty years later, when she found that a secret alliance again favored such a union, she started the War of the Pacific (1879–83) referred to in the preceding chapter.

Chile has had the advantages of a stable population, made up largely of the combination of the strong Basques and the virile Araucanian Indians, with a certain number of Anglo-Saxon merchants and sailors. She is universally liked by foreign visitors, among them Elihu Root who said when he came to this nation: "Chile is a country!" Such appreciation is reciprocated by the people of the shoestring republic, who, since the days when they placed their education in the hands of the Venezuelan genius, Andrés Bello, and confided all kinds of cultural missions to the Argentine, Domingo Sarmiento, have been hospitable to serious-minded foreigners.

During the first century of her independence Chile has experienced less upheaval than any other country in Latin America except Brazil. She has demonstrated the advantage of looking at a situation realistically and providing for conservative government to deal with backward conditions. This fine record has been somewhat sullied during the last few years because, notwithstanding changed conditions, the conservatives insist on holding back social legislation. It will be interesting to observe whether Chile's way or that of radical Mexico will yield the better results.

ARISTOCRACY AND ANARCHY — PERU

When Bolívar terminated his triumphal march in Lima, the home of the colonial aristocracy, the poets called him demigod and the ladies besieged him as prince charming. But they soon tired of their hero and a struggle began in Peru between oligarchy and anarchy, generals and intellectuals, archbishops and radicals. With a population largely Indian and never assimilated, with a strong church influence favorable to the landed aristocracy and against popular education, Peru wandered through the nineteenth century without finding a great deliverer.

She had a few great *caudillos,* but at no time were they able to exert a continued influence like Rosas, Guzmán Blanco or Díaz. The first of these skilled leaders was Ramón Castillo, of Indian blood, who rose to the presidency on his reputation as a cavalry officer in the Independence and Bolivian wars. From 1845 to 1862, with a brief revolutionary intermission, he ruled with a program of financial, religious and educational reform. Following a decade of confusion and corruption, the first civilian and in many respects the greatest president, Manuel Pardo, appeared. He founded the Civilist party, which was then favorable to a conservatively progressive program, but which was caught in the scandals connected with the rapidly developing guano and nitrate industries. With such inheritances the party, made up, like another more famous one in the North, of "respectable people," still bids for power in Lima on the basis of being the only guarantor of "two chickens in every garage."

After the assassination of the lamented Pardo in 1878 came the dark period of the War of the Pacific. Don Nicolás Piérola, the rival of Pardo, finally reorganized the country and served a four-year term (1895–99), during which he put the country on the gold standard, invited a French mission to reorganize the army as a civil rather than as a dictatorial force, and restored business.

Always a charming land, filled with historical monuments, brilliant writers and delightful people, Peru has continued to suffer from the dominance of three forces — a reactionary church hierarchy; a small, colonially minded, intellectual aristocracy; and a narrow, Lima-centered government group that forgets the provinces. Dictator Augusto Leguía (1919–31) endeavored to control all these elements with a high-pressure business administration backed by foreign capital. His failure brought more chaos. The new day awaits the courageous, self-sacrificing and intelligent leadership which may be provided by the newly organized student and labor combination known as the Apra.

In the presidential election of October, 1936, the government ruled that the Apra party could not nominate a candidate because in so doing it would violate a new law which prohibited the political activities of international parties. When a "dark horse," Sr. Luis Antonio Eguiguren, was unexpectedly elected president, evidently through the quiet backing of Apra, the government ruled that the elections were void. President Benavides then declared a three year dictatorship with himself continuing as the head of the government, supported by a cabinet composed entirely of military officers.

Economic conditions in Peru have greatly improved recently but the political future is obscure.

MILITARISM AND MOUNTAINS — BOLIVIA

Bolivia was established through the joining of parts of the territory of Argentina and Peru, seemingly for the glory of the great Liberator after whom it was named and from whom it received its first Constitution and its first president. But the great independence leader, General Sucre, was soon forced out of the presidency and a period of anarchy began which has continued, with a few notable interruptions, up to the present time. Andrés Santa Cruz, another of Bolívar's most talented generals, succeeded the disillusioned Sucre and endeavored, with some success until stopped by Chile, to unite Peru and Bolivia. From the time of his retirement to Europe in 1845 the country experienced a hopeless succession of military uprisings. The sad story has been told courageously and clearly by one of Bolivia's best citizens, Alcides Argüedas, in his *Pueblo enfermo,* "Sick People," wherein he states that from 1826 to 1898 ten different constitutions were adopted, some sixty uprisings were registered and six presidents were assassinated.

From the days of its artificial creation Bolivia has seen little but trouble. With the majority of its people living on the roof of the world, at an elevation of from eleven to fifteen thousand feet, shut off from the sea since the War of the Pacific, with most of its population full-blooded, unassimilated Indians, she is an Ishmael among the nations, always in dispute with her neighbors. With the conclusion of the Chaco War the country awaits the appearance of a new leader to head a social movement comparable to the *Aprista* movement of its next-door neighbor.

THE PRICE OF ISOLATION — PARAGUAY

Paraguay began in 1811 one of the most peculiar developments that history records. Her physical isolation in the heart of the continent accounts for some of her peculiarities, but the life of one man accounts for more. Dr. Gaspar Rodríguez Francia — *El Supremo,* as his subjects, following his command, called him — has only one rival in American history for strangeness of character, García Moreno of Ecuador. Like Moreno, Francia had studied theology in an austere colonial institution and made use of religion to strengthen his government, but, unlike Moreno, he wanted a national religion, as he wanted everything in his land isolated from the rest of the world. Solitary and mysterious, honest, capricious and vain, he was fond of the native Guaranis, suspicious of all foreigners and particularly hostile to Spaniards and the Roman Catholic church. He encouraged industry but closed the ports to all outside trade. He ruled from 1811 to 1840, longer than any other American dictator, and did much in his way to strengthen Paraguay.

Francia was succeeded by the two López. The father, Carlos Antonio, who ruled ten years, was followed by the better educated, more ambitious son, Francisco, who had returned from Paris with a French concubine and an adoration of Napoleon. He ruined Paraguay in his attempt to fight the united forces of his three powerful neighbors. Three-fourths of the population died in a heroic struggle to back their mad dictator.

Since 1870 Paraguay has been slowly regaining prosperity. In 1932 she had almost attained a million population, the number she possessed before the fatal war of 1865, when she was again plunged into the deadly conflict with Bolivia over the boundary of the Chaco.

AN INTERNATIONAL CENTER — URUGUAY

Banda Oriental, the "Eastern Band," as Uruguay was called in the early days, became a buffer state, a prize sought by imperialistic neighbors. Later she became the Switzerland of America, the home of international organizations. Acknowledged as an independent republic in 1828, she continued until past the middle of the century under the dominance alternately of Argentina and of Brazil. An old political struggle between the Whites and the Reds was finally used by one of the most remarkable liberals of any land, José Batlle y Ordóñez, as an opportunity to start one of the most progressive socialistic movements outside New Zealand. Since the beginning of the present century immigrants have enlarged and greatly strengthened the population, education has raised the social and economic level. In short, Uruguay, with the smallest territory, has attained the highest standard of living, the best educational system and the most democratic expression of opinion of any South American country. A setback in this remarkable progress began with the dictatorship of President Gabriel Terra in 1932, but democratic and socialistic principles have become too well ingrained in the people to permit more than a temporary impeding of their progress.

RELIGIOUS ANARCHY — COLOMBIA

"There are two South American peoples in which Jacobinism has become a national malady, a curious form of Ibero-American anarchy — religious anarchy," says García Calderón in referring to Colombia and Ecuador. Colombians themselves have a saying that when the three components of Gran Colombia chose to go their separate ways following the death of Bolívar, Venezuela became a barracks, Colombia a lawyers' debating society and Ecuador a convent. Few countries have had more continuous upheavals than Colombia. Up to 1903, when she practically abandoned revolutions, she had about seventy military uprisings and had lived under seven constitutions. These uprisings represented largely real contests of ideas. Nowhere have the powerful church and the old conservative families more constantly and consistently opposed the Bolívar tradition of political and religious freedom.

Following the retirement and death of Bolívar, one of his generals, Francisco de Paula Santander, who had been banished after the plot to assassinate the Liberator in Bogotá, was recalled and became the first president of the new and reduced Colombia. He continued the liberal regime which had abolished the Inquisition, reduced the dominance of the church, and permitted the establishment of a Bible society promoted by an agent of the Lancastrian school system from England. He thus alienated the conservatives and aroused between them and the liberals the struggle which continued during the nineteenth century to be the principal political issue.

General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, who was elected to the presidency in 1845, so impressed himself on the country that he was twice recalled to office. He inaugurated an era of progress, which received much of its inspiration from the European revolution of 1848. In 1863 an extreme type of loose federation was approved in a new Constitution and measures were taken against the church, including confiscation of property, suppression of religious orders and expulsion of the archbishop.

A reaction set in and in 1880 another great leader, Rafael Núñez, a philosopher like Sarmiento of Argentina, took the helm. He was the dominant figure in his nation until his death in 1894. Then centralism was restored, as was the controlling position of the Roman Catholic church, and liberals were entirely excluded from the government. Consequently, the country underwent in the years 1899–1902 one of the most sanguinary revolutions in Latin-American history, in which some hundred thousand lives were lost. Immediately following this upheaval the nation suffered the most tragic event in its history, the loss of the province of Panama. Since 1902 Colombia has had no revolution and the party in power, whether liberal or conservative, has endeavored to give a certain consideration to its opponents.

The elections of 1930 showed how definitely the country had turned to democratic procedure. The campaign of Dr. Enrique Olaya Herrera, a young progressive, was swiftly organized and was carried to the extremes of the country by airplane. The vacillation of the archbishop, who had long had a preponderant influence, lost him his political prestige, and a liberal government was swept into power. In 1934 the liberal candidate, Dr. Alfonso López, was so universally accepted that the conservatives nominated no candidate, and Dr. López, with a middle-of-the-road progressive program, was elected with practical unanimity.

AN EXPERIMENT IN THEOCRACY — ECUADOR

Following the retirement of Ecuador from the federation of Gran Colombia, General Juan José Flores, a Venezuelan lieutenant of Bolívar, and Rocafuerte, a leader of the university youth, alternated in the government of Ecuador until Flores, victim of his ambitious rival, fell after having accepted the aid of Spain in an effort to restore the power of the mother country. Gabriel García Moreno rescued his country from anarchy to lead it, in 1861, into the most peculiar sort of theocracy ever set up in America. This presidential dictator was a medieval mystic. He recalled the Jesuits, turned education over to the Catholic church, and consecrated the country as the "Republic of the Sacred Heart." He signed a concordat with the pope which gave the pontiff practically complete control of the country. In several ways, however, this professor was a statesman of vision and an earnest patriot. He believed that "religion is the foundation of morality and the absence of morality is the ruin of the republic." In 1875, in the midst of his third term of office, when he was carrying out his peculiar combination of reactionary and progressive policies, he was assassinated. (The liberal writer, Don Juan Montalvo, boasted that it was really his pen that killed Moreno.) But Moreno's theocratic system continued in Ecuador for many years.

Weak regimes followed and liberalism definitely established itself under President Eloy Alfaro, who, after his second term of office in 1912, perished, like Moreno, by the hand of an assassin. Since that time presidential succession has been rapid, often accompanied by violence. In 1932 Ecuador adopted a new Constitution with certain socialized tendencies. The newly elected president, Dr. José Velasco Ibarra, made in July, 1934, a good-will trip to Chile and other neighboring countries, once more announcing the inauguration of a new era in the land of the equator. But a year later the army repeated an old Ecuadorian custom and ousted President Ibarra, who was succeeded by Antonio Pons and, a month later, by Federico Páez.

A CENTURY OF DICTATORS — VENEZUELA

Venezuela was the proud birthplace of three of the most famous early leaders of Latin America: Miranda, the forerunner of independence; Bolívar, the liberator of five republics; and Andrés Bello, the poet, grammarian, international lawyer and educator. But their ideals have been strangely absent from this land, the later history of which has been so small a contribution to American civilization. Following its delivery from Spain by Bolívar, Venezuela came under the gloomy rule of the revolutionary leader, General Páez, who was the dominant influence until 1870. Since that time the country has been largely under the control of three men. Guzmán Blanco, the greatest of these, was a dashing figure, equally at home in Europe and in America. He was a Grand

Mason and stripped the church of much of its power. Although a self-seeking, arbitrary dictator, he had a certain culture and brought to his country an improved financial and educational program. Cipriano Castro began his cruel and extravagant rule in 1899 and closed it, much to the relief of both Europe and America, in ten years. He was succeeded by General Juan Vicente Gómez, who retained his power until his death in December, 1935. While the national debt was wiped out and new roads united many sections, prisons were filled with those who dared to express liberal ideas. He was succeeded in the presidency by Eleazar López Contreras, who was immediately confronted by an outburst of those political passions which had for so long been pent up, but who seems, as this is written, to be uniting his country for a new era of progress.

THE LONE EMPIRE — BRAZIL

The history of Brazil is quite different from that of the Spanish section of Latin America. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1808 Prince João and his court moved to Brazil, opened its ports to the commerce of the world and established many cultural institutions. After having come of age and been declared king, João returned to Portugal in 1820. He left Brazil in charge of his young son, Dom Pedro, whom he advised to seize the crown before someone else did, should there be a movement in Brazil for independence. Just after the king left for Portugal young Pedro decided to lead the movement for independence which proved successful in 1824. From that time until 1889, when the republic was established, Brazil had only two rulers, Dom Pedro I and his son Dom Pedro II. It thus escaped the many revolutions through which the Spanish-American countries have passed.

Of course there have been various political and social upheavals, but no major revolutions to upset the government. In 1845 a new Constitution was granted which, while restricting suffrage, gave considerable personal liberty and freedom of the press. It also lightened the position of the slave — a policy which afterward, through gradual legal processes, became more and more enlightened until full freedom was granted a year before the establishment of the republic. By 1850 Brazil had entered into a period of progress far beyond that of the other Latin-American republics. Development was retarded by the constant skirmishing over Uruguay and Paraguay, but when relationships with those neighbors were finally settled in 1870, progress was rapid.

The growth of republican principles was to be expected, and in 1870 the republicans issued a manifesto outlining democratic action. Eleven years later a law was enacted granting direct elections, and thereafter the liberal party rather than the beloved but fast-aging Dom Pedro was in control. The monarchy had evidently completed its task. Accordingly, when provision was made for the transfer of power from the emperor to his conservative daughter Isabel, the liberals took the occasion to declare an open revolt. A provisional government established a federal republic and the royal family went into exile. Not a soul appeared to say good-by to the Grand Old Man of Brazil as he sailed away to his European retirement. This was not ingratitude but a part of the scheme to avert excitement and bloodshed in the peaceful transforming of an empire into a republic. This remarkable accomplishment, along with the freeing of slaves without a war, revealed Brazil as a really civilized nation.

A federal government granting considerable liberty to the states and disestablishing the church was set up in 1890. Since then the principal problems have revolved around the old question that vexed Argentina and other Latin-American republics so long — the proper balance between the central and the state governments and the adjustment of economic questions. In 1934 a wave of ultra-nationalism threatened to engulf in violent change a country which has hitherto faced its problems with a calm and ecumenical mind.

LIBERALS VERSUS CLERICALS AND FOREIGNERS — MEXICO

As Argentina represents the most energetic grappling with the question of unity, Mexico is most representative in her prompt dealing with the question of clerical dominance. She began her independence with many handicaps. Stretching from Yucatan on the south to California on the north, divided by countless mountain ranges, she struggled in vain for a basis of unity. The majority of her people were Indians, most of whom did not even speak the Spanish language. Her political chiefs, divided between the *Yorkinos* and the *Escoceses* (the two kinds of Masonic lodges which had been imported from Britain and North America), were engaged in a terrific struggle for dominance. The great landholders, backed by the church and the military, opposed the idealists who insisted on the observation of the provisions of the Constitution. About fifty rulers came on and off the Mexican stage in the period from 1829 to 1861, the chameleon-like Santa Anna, either as conservative or liberal, making nine different appearances in twenty years and having himself designated, at his final performance in 1853, "His Most Serene Highness." It was not until 1857 that Mexico began to find herself, in the person of that remarkable statesman, the pure-blooded Indian, Benito Juárez, to whom Victor Hugo wrote: "America has produced two great men, Abraham Lincoln and Thee."

Juárez was the first Spanish-American ruler to point out the impossibility of conducting a democracy in the presence of a state church that owned a large part of the real estate, conducted a considerable part of the banking, and controlled the thinking of most of the inhabitants of the country. In the midst of the leader's struggle with the clericals he was suddenly confronted with the foreigners. But he was able to triumph even over the combined intervention of Napoleon and the pope, expressed in the person of Emperor Maximilian, whom the little Indian captured and shot in 1867.

When the reform program of Juárez was suddenly cut off by his death, Porfirio Díaz appeared. He became probably the greatest of Latin-American dictators. For the first time Mexico enjoyed a period of peace brought about through a program of merciless dealing with opponents at home and a generous encouragement of economic and ecclesiastical forces from abroad. But when a small group of the dictator's own followers combined with business interests from the United States to exploit and mistreat the native people and their resources, the revolution of 1910 was precipitated. This was the first real effort to change fundamentally the unjust economic system and to reorganize the whole social life of the people. Because it illustrates so fully the whole Latin-American problem and represents the one fundamental economic and social revolution in America, it will be treated at more length in another section.

It is not within the purview of this volume to deal with Central America and the West Indies.[1] The five republics of Central America, after dissolving their union in 1838, found most of their problems revolving around attempts to return to that unity — a live question even today. In the West Indies, Haiti appears as the one republic definitely committed to the dominance of the black man. The Dominican Republic, occupying the eastern section of the same island, after being under the control of many foreign governments, seems now ready for development under the guidance of its own small intellectual circle. Within the twentieth century, under the presiding genius of the Colossus of the North, two of the twenty Southern republics have been born — Cuba and Panama. Their problems have revolved around their relations with the United States. The very difficult revolutionary conditions in Cuba developing after the fall of Machado in 1933 suggest that the island is facing dark days.

With these sketches of the historical background of each country, we are ready to take a closer view of the present situation and endeavor to gain insight into the new economic and social revolutions.

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[1] For a treatment of the Caribbean see the author's *Trailing the Conquistadores* (New York, 1931); also *The Caribbean Area* (Washington, 1934), a series of lectures given at George Washington University by the author and various others.

North American professors have during the last dozen years taken to writing one-volume histories of Hispanic America covering primitive America, the colonial period and the period of the republics, usually as college texts. Among these writers are the following: W. W. Sweet (1919), W. R. Shepherd (1921), W. S. Robertson (1922), H. G. James and P. A. Martin (joint authors) (1923), H. M. Williams (1930), A. C. Wilgus (1931), J. F. Rippy (1932). Sweet is a modest pioneer; Shepherd is elegant and philosophical; Robertson gives facts without dressing; James and Martin specialize on government; Miss Williams is human and delightful; Wilgus is encyclopedic; Rippy, well rounded, emphasizing international relations. All have bibliographies — pretty much duplicates of one another, largely secondary sources in English. It seems a waste of space here to duplicate again these easily accessible lists, especially since minimum interest in the field would assume the possession of at least one of these volumes. Valuable source material is found in N. A. N. Cleven's *Readings in Hispanic-American History* (New York, 1927).

Professor Herbert E. Bolton has opened the whole of the history of this continent to students, with a full list of books as well as of events, and with suggestions for study, in his syllabus *History of the Americas* (New York, 1935). With that volume the student may work his way through the whole of American history, North and South.

Two of the best interpretations of events and the philosophy behind them are *The Emancipation of South America* (English translation, London, 1893) by Bartolomé Mitre, the distinguished Argentine president and littérateur, and *The Destiny of a Continent* (English translation, New York, 1925) by Manuel Ugarte, the fiery anti-imperialist leader. To appreciate the unique character of Brazil one should read M. de Oliveira Lima's *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with That of Spanish America* (Stanford University, 1914).

From among many British books, mostly good, some, alas, very bad, the following are chosen: J. Miller's *Memoirs of J. Miller in the Service of the Republic of Peru,* 2 vols. (London, 1828); James Bryce's *South America, Observations and Impressions* (New York, 1914); Cecil James' *Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America* (Oxford, 1929); John A. Mackay's *That Other America* (New York, 1935). North American writers' discovery of their Southern neighbors with the opening of the Panama canal resulted in a flood of barbarous travel books. But of the many good historical and interpretative volumes the following are suggested: Joseph Lockey's *Pan-Americanism, Its Beginnings* (New York, 1920); E. A. Ross' *South of Panama* (New York, 1913); W. R. Shepherd's *Latin America* (New York, 1914); S. G. Inman's *Problems in Pan-Americanism* (New York, 1925); C. H. Haring's *South America Looks at the United States* (New York, 1928); H. A. Gibbons' *The New Map of South America* (New York, 1928); J. L. Mecham's *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, 1934); Gaston Nerval's *Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine* (New York, 1934). A valuable series consisting of annual lectures interpreting Southern life was initiated in 1933 under the editorship of A. C. Wilgus, the first volume being *Modern Hispanic America* (Washington, 1933).

The best interpretation of a people's history is, of course, their own literature. Fortunately readers confined to English can now get a glimpse of Ibero-American authors in the following splendid works: A. Coester's *Literary History of Latin America* (New York, 1916); I. Goldberg's *Brazilian Literature* (New York, 1925); Alice Stone Blackwell's *Some Spanish-American Poets* (New York, 1932).

An extensive bibliographical essay by Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, *The Histories of Hispanic America,* has been issued in mimeograph form by the Pan American Union (Washington, 1932). This will give the student an extensive list of works, especially in English and Spanish.

Spanish-American historians with their fondness for details and documents have usually kept more to treatments of single countries. There are, however, some good general treatments.

The Mexican historian Carlos Pereyra finished recently an eight-volume work, *Historia de la América española* (Madrid, 1930). A superior work is that in two volumes by the Chilean historian Diego Barros Arana, *Historia de América* (Santiago, 1918).

A few of the best interpretations in Spanish of events and the philosophy beneath them are: *South America, ensayo de psicología política* (Buenos Aires, 1918) by Agustín Álvarez, a great lay preacher of the opening of the century; *El nacimiento de la América española* (Tucumán, 1928) by Juan B. Terán, the rector of the University of Tucumán; *La creación de un continente* (Paris, 1912) by F. García Calderón, the distinguished Peruvian littérateur, now living in Paris.

Satisfactory books on single countries are difficult to secure. We list here one history or general treatise by a native and one by an English-speaking writer for each South American country and Mexico:

Argentina: Ricardo Levene, *Lecciones de historia argentina,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1925); F. A. Kirkpatrick, *A History of the Argentine Republic* (Cambridge, 1931).

Bolivia: Alcides Argüedas, *Historia general de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1922); Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914).

Brazil: M. Bomfin, *O Brazil nação,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1931); Roy Nash, *Conquest of Brazil* (New York, 1926).

Chile: Luis Galdames, *Historia de Chile* (Santiago, 1916); L. E. Elliott, *Chile Today and Tomorrow* (New York, 1922).

Colombia: Jesús M. Henao y Gerardo Arubla, *Historia de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1934); P. J. Eder, *Colombia* (New York, 1934).

Ecuador: Oscar Efrén Reyes, *Historia de la república, 1810–1925* (Quito, 1931); C. R. Enoch, *Ecuador* (New York, 1914).

Mexico: Justo Sierra, *México y su evolución social,* 3 vols. (Mexico, 1900–2); Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York, 1928).

Paraguay: Cecilio Báez, *Resumen de la historia del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1910); W. H. Koebel, *Paraguay* (London, 1917).

Peru: Nemesio Vargas, *Historia del Perú independiente,* 8

vols. (Lima, 1903–17); C. R. Enoch, *Peru* (New York, 1910).

Uruguay: Hermano Damasceno (E. Perret), *Ensayo de la historia patria* (Montevideo, 1923); W. H. Koebel, *Uruguay* (London, 1911).

Venezuela: José Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela* (Berlin, 1907); L. V. Dalton, *Venezuela* (London, 1912).

Book Three

RECENT REVOLUTIONS

VIII

SOCIAL BACKGROUND

LATIN AMERICA recognizes today, as never before, that she has had a bad start, particularly with regard to the social structure and economic foundations on which she has sought to develop effective and progressive democracies. Her constructive achievements in nationality and culture justify admiration in view of the stubborn historic inhibitions, the vast complex of human and economic impedimenta, with which her political idealism has had to deal. Scientifically compiled industrial and occupational statistics for the entire continent are not available. But the author, after comparing various widely differing authorities, would classify the economic status of the people (after a full century of independence and of striving toward republican commonwealths) more or less as follows:

(1) Intellectuals (professional and governing class)	7 per cent
(2) Nomad Indians and those settled on communal land	8 per cent
(3) Middle class (skilled laborers, small merchants, teachers, clerks, etc.)	20 per cent
(4) Illiterate peons, tenants and servants in economic dependence	65 per cent

To appreciate the significance of the present economic situation one must recall the chief historic factors which lie behind it and make it intelligible, if not inevitable.

LATIFUNDIA

First and foremost is the treatment of the land, beginning with the period of conquest and colonization, in the system of *latifundios*.[1] The resultant land question lies at the bottom of the major social problems today. When the conquistadors of Spain and Portugal superimposed themselves on an immense Indian population, all of the conquered territory was claimed by and for the Iberian sovereigns. By the divine right of the conquerors, in charters constructed by themselves, all land became " subject to distribution for use in perpetuity." Enormous tracts of country, carved into " estates," were by royal grant assigned, first to the conquistadors, later to governors, generals, captains, colonial officials of many ranks, adventurous hidalgos, and to the increasing stream of enterprising settlers and ambitious fortune hunters from overseas. During the period of independence the republican governments or the dictators, following the precedent of colonial times, continued to bestow large landed estates upon individuals as mere political favors — usually to the further despoilment of the rightful owners, and always accompanied by the exploitation of peon labor.[2] The ramifications of this situation run out into the general economic, political, social and religious life of the people in such a way as greatly to impede if not to frustrate all attempts at the solution of other national problems. These enormous estates in the hands of an exploiting minority — making possible the acquisition by the owners of fabulous fortunes, partly through their stranglehold on cheap labor and even more through their ability to manipulate " high markets for exorbitant returns " — and the general economic development of the country, have been the cause of much of the radicalism which has rent the peaceful progress of Argentina in recent years.

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[1] *Latifundium* — literally " broad country estate." In Argentina called *estancia*, in Mexico *hacienda*.

In the republics whose population is predominantly Indian so much of the land has been set aside in this manner that the sons of the soil are as veritable strangers and servants within their own houses, while the encouraging of agricultural, home-acquiring immigrants from other countries has been not simply reduced to a minimum, but entirely stopped. In Bolivia, for example, almost the total arable territory, including the vast mining regions, is owned by the dominant white element of 6 or 8 per cent in a population of some three million. In Ecuador a white and near-white minority of 5 per cent in a population of two million not only possesses almost all the land, but works only a small portion of it, and that in general poorly. Here great estates, as until recently in Spain, still lie largely idle and unproductive under the laissez faire attitude of aristocratic families — wealthy scions of ancestral hidalgos — who often " view the distant scene " from Paris or the Riviera.

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[2] There were in Mexico, before the present revolution, farms so large that an entire day on a railroad train was required to traverse them. The Mexican census of 1910 showed that seven thousand families owned nearly all of the fertile soil of that country. The tillable soil of Chile is owned by 7 per cent of the population. In Argentina over 17,000,000 acres of farm land — nearly 30 per cent of the total area under cultivation — are in estates of 25,000 acres or over.

The land question today fills with unrest the greater Andean republics, Colombia, Peru and Chile. It was the first problem confronting President Alfonso López of Colombia, following his inauguration at Bogotá on August 7, 1934, when thousands of peasants, driven to desperation under the age-old system of absentee landlordism, arose in armed insurrection to demand titles to the holdings on which they and their forefathers had toiled under virtual feudal bondage, pouring " blood-gold " into the coffers of the great " earth-barons." President López and the liberal government behind him issued a statement recognizing the justice of the rebel claims, an act which seemed to herald a new day in the procedure of Colombian governments. Though the revolt was suppressed by military force, Colombia became committed to " far-reaching legal reforms " involving amendment of the Constitution to remove accumulated grievances over land distribution, ownership and labor.

The social results of the latifundia system, with its oppressive monopoly of labor and exclusive exploitation of the land, are easily deduced. Latin America has developed in the main only two classes of people, the extremely rich and the extremely poor. While the great cosmopolitan centers and a few industrialized areas are increasingly exceptions to the rule, there is in general no middle class in the sense of a social or national entity.

The general failure to make land accessible in small holdings sufficient to encourage the maintenance and progressive competence of the individual farmer and his family has resulted in the utter absence of an independent agricultural class, the economic backbone of democracy.

OFFICIAL CONTEMPT FOR LABOR

Implicit in the latifundia system from the beginning was the traditional depreciation of labor which characterized the conquerors and colonizers and the governing officialdom of the Americas throughout the colonial period. The idea that physical toil was menial and degrading arose partly from the current religious " presuppositions of colonial morality " and partly from the ardent sense of aristocratic superiority which distinguished the Spanish hidalgos and had, indeed, strongly imbued the spirit of the whole Iberian people. Nor was the modern democratic conception of the dignity of labor a teaching of the church; rather " the work that soiled men's hands, bent their backs and bound them to the earth was Heaven's appointed punishment for sin "; laborers were born to suffer in this world, they must seek their reward in the next. This attitude toward work, " the humdrum toil of the masses," has had disastrous consequences in the economic life of the peninsular motherlands, Spain and Portugal, and of their overseas dominions. Contempt for labor in the abstract easily passed into contempt for the laborer and into what a leading South American publicist describes as " the frightful cruelty of the tutelary regime."

No understanding of the economic history or of the present social ferment of the Southern neo-civilization is possible without recognition of this psychological factor — democracy in conflict with contempt for work. The colonizing hosts that followed the first conquistadors communicated and applied to the new lands the philosophy of labor prevalent among their overlords, a philosophy which, from being an assumption of colonial administration, became an " epic of tragedy." To transform the American wilderness of forest and plain into settled communities, to plant and reap under tropic suns even to the verge of the great deserts, to quarry stone and build cities for the white strangers, to mine the precious metals from the mountains — these would require physical toil, hard and long; but *that* was not for the people of destiny who had come from beyond the seas to colonize, to civilize, to convert and to seek for gold. The call to labor was addressed to the sons of the soil. They should be glad of the chance and be patient with their lot.[3]

OPPRESSION OF THE INDIANS

Latin America had a bad start economically in the treatment and fate of her aboriginal peoples. Reference has already been made to the early process of militant subjugation, the crusading massacres often approaching the verge of tribal annihilation, by which the conquest was achieved. Mexican historians estimate that from two to four millions in Aztec territory were slain in the wake of Cortés and his successors. The campaigns of Montejo over a period of fifteen years gave the death blow to the once powerful Mayas whose marvelous cities are now being dug out of the jungles of Yucatan. Probably half the Quechua and Aymara population of the Inca empire (computed at ten to fifteen millions) perished in and following Pizarro's stroke in Peru. The establishment of Spanish sovereignty in New Granada (Colombia) by Quesada, Lugo and Belalcázar cost the virtual destruction of the great Chibcha confederacy whose political and social culture centered at their capital, Bacatá, which was scarcely inferior to that of the gilded palaces of Cuzco. Even the attempted introduction of Christianity, the planting and expansion of the Iberian church, the self-sacrificing labors of the Catholic missions in their golden prime — "the conversion of the Indies" was inextricably bound up with the whole period and process of the conquest, the appropriation of the new lands, "the violent subjugation of resisting peoples." "The Spaniards killed as many as they conquered," exclaims Gomara, official historian of Cortés.

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[3] The greatest lay preacher of South America, Agustín Álvarez, known as "the Emerson of Argentina," wrote a quarter of a century ago in his essay "The Proletariat on the Eve of the Revolution": "Work, which in medieval Europe was simply humiliating, descended a few degrees lower and became in Spanish America *shameful,* since it was abandoned to the Indians and Negroes — even to the plebeians who continued to come from the peninsula hastening to buy a wig and a sword in order to play the hidalgo. With the Indian and the Negro, employers learned to despise and to exploit also the white laborer as a work-animal, under the lash like a beast. Degraded by such labor and deprived of the incentive of gain, the indigent white man toiled to keep from starving, and if later he could without working contrive to keep from dying, he immediately gave up the work which he had all the while despised. Placing a premium on suffering, religion had destroyed all the humanitarian motives that might have induced the powerful to abolish or alleviate it, since suffering in the toil of life was a means of redemption."

Although the numerous protective measures of the famous *Leyes de Indias* were finally formulated for the welfare of the Indians, it was not of the genius of the early Spanish administrators, still less of their creole successors, to enlist and train the natives for intelligent and voluntary co-operation on a basis of mutuality in the progressive development of the colonies. The economic contribution of a conquered and therefore inferior race was conceived solely in terms of compulsory labor exacted and performed under the *encomienda* system, under conditions of subordination and oppression which reduced them to a galling and debasing bondage, and in some regions to decimating decline and death. Within a generation after the landing of Columbus in Santo Domingo, for example, the two principal peoples of the Caribbean Islands and northern Venezuela, the Caribs and the Arawaks, were almost entirely wiped out, not by war but by forced labor on plantations and in mines, while Negroes were brought from Africa in a second slavery to replace them.

Millions of Indians of many tribes and confederacies who survived the clash of conquest, including especially those of the higher indigenous cultures, were absorbed, as colonization progressed, into the mestizo peoples. But other millions were not absorbed. The residue of pure Indians, widely scattered in small tribal groups or lingering in larger numbers in their ancient mountain homes, is estimated at sixteen million. They are found in every country, except Uruguay, from Mexican Sonora to Tierra del Fuego. Between two and four million live in the lowlands of central South America. Hidden in the gloom of the dense forests, still as primitive and pagan as any tribes in central Africa, they are the remnant of "the great flight from advancing civilization," descendants of those who escaped the terrors of the early slave dealers and traders. Brazil herself in colonial days depended largely for her supply of labor on the raids of the "fighting slavers of São Paulo," the Paulistas, whose *bandeirantes* carried war and slavery and fear to the western waters of the Amazon.

Though legal slavery has long since been forbidden, government protection can rarely be extended to these present-day uncivilized tribes, so remote from the shelter of the law. Their condition in the hinterland regions has been aggravated by the overlapping of the territorial claims of Brazil, Colombia and Peru. The atrocities they have more recently endured in one disputed area are revealed in Hardenburg's *The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise,* and in Sir Roger Casement's official report to the British government. The situation there described is probably paralleled in most of the rubber districts of interior South America. The Argentine Indians survive in degenerate remnants, pitiable witnesses to decades of slaughter and enslavement. Since General Roca's ruthless pampas campaign against them in 1879, they have ceased to be a factor in the national development. The once valiant and sturdy Chilean Araucanians, whom neither Inca nor Spanish arms could subdue, have at last yielded to the white man's fire-water, and for the most part sit sullenly on regimented preserves or toil like *rotos* on the great estates. Neither Chile nor Argentina has been able to integrate its aborigines into an economic asset.

In Mexico there are probably five million Indians, two millions of whom speak only their tribal dialects. Except for the relatively few of the highland groups who have been able to retain their communal lands, they constitute the larger part of the peon proletariat, with its backward illiteracy, debt-bound poverty and goaded toil. The same is true of the two million Indians of the smaller republics of Central America.

It is only recently that alert Latin Americans seem to have sensed the tide of agony and resentment that, during these many decades of oppression, serfdom and neglect, has been surging in the soul of the Indian. His pitiless exploitation since the days of discovery, under an economic system forged for him by church and state, has been the theme of many writers. The visitor to South America will see nothing more pitiful than the Indians of Peru and Bolivia, descendants of great civilizations now forgotten.

In Cuzco the traveler is at the center of the Indian population of Peru. Riding on horseback through the Ilcamaya, one of the most wonderful valleys in the world, he sees the

Quechuas in their old haunts, where they have lived for many centuries. Here are found the ruins of great temples and fortresses. Wonderful terraces running up the mountainsides a thousand feet or more are still under cultivation, although built by pre-Inca peoples of whom we have no knowledge.

In the shadow of the magnificent ruins which typify former greatness, one sees, for instance, a company of half-clad men and women bearing the body of a dead friend to the grave. The corpse is wrapped in a blanket and carried on one man's shoulder or by three or four bearers. It is their only time to enjoy a holiday. They are inflamed with the cheap native gin and are reeling and cursing and fighting. The fray becomes so interesting that they lay down the body and argue wildly with their hands. One of the women strikes a man and knocks him across the corpse. A free-for-all ensues until they are all prostrate on the ground, so drunk that they cannot rise. There they lie until the stupor is worn off, and then proceed to the grave. Maybe they have a padre to say the last rites or maybe it has been impossible for them to collect sufficient funds to command his costly services. Such Indians, even within the zones of the great cathedral centers, have only a vague ritualistic connection with the church which seeks to guide them in things unseen, but is powerless to lift a feather's weight from the earthly burden that holds them down.

But unlike the low-cultured tribes of the Brazilian lowlands and the Chaco, these peoples of the Peruvian and Bolivian cordilleras are still capable of cultural development and creative contribution to the future, if but given a chance. Though deprived for centuries of every normal opportunity for economic, intellectual and spiritual advancement, these rugged mountaineers have preserved many of the personal qualities by which in pre-Columbian times their race dominated almost the entire Southern continent. Although outwitted and overcome by the deceit and savagery of the Spaniard, the highland Indian has frequently proved himself stronger than his conqueror, and has compelled his despoilers to conform to his ways, to recognize his race, and to learn his language in order to converse with him. Nor is it a secret that with his long-suffering acquiescence in an economic crucifixion he has diffused through his conquerors an ill-concealed fear of the day when the *Indiada* will revolt.

At the present time the highland Indian furnishes the only supply of labor, skilled and unskilled, in country and city alike. No field is tilled but by his hand, no harvest is reaped but by his sickle. He molds every sun-dried brick, he dresses each stone that goes to build both hovel and palace. He mines the ore, builds roads and railroads, constructs bridges, herds the flocks. With his droves of llamas and donkeys he transports much of the merchandise, collects the fuel, cooks the food, carries water and performs other domestic service. While with the advent of modern industries he is learning to make some of the gadgets of civilization, he is primarily an agriculturist. Many thousands of Indians are still virtually serfs on the great estates. But large numbers in the isolated valleys and remote corners of the plateau have succeeded in retaining or regaining their communal lands on which they exist in communities independent of the great landlords, raising their sustenance co-operatively and herding their flocks on a common pasture, as in Inca and pre-Inca times. It seems certain that the extracting of the mineral wealth of these mountains or the establishing of any other mountain industry can never be accomplished with any but Indian labor. To secure the Indian's co-operation on a basis that will allow him self-development and satisfaction in the industrial era which has only fairly begun in these regions, is a major problem. But in the main the solution of the Indian question still lies in the redistribution of the land.[4]

THE FOREIGNER DOMINATES BUSINESS

Another major consideration in the present social problem is the fact that in no other great section of the world are commercial and financial interests so completely in the control of foreigners as in Latin America. From the early days of the republics commerce began to drift into the hands of foreigners — a natural outcome of a feudal system in which the aristocrat despised trade. Countries like England and the United States might honor the businessman and even Japan might make a place for the merchant class in its new economic order, but the Latin American's prejudice against engaging in trade allowed the foreigner to manufacture the needed commodities and then come to Latin America to sell them. These foreign products are brought to the country in foreign ships, hauled to their destination on foreign-owned railroads or trucks, and usually sold by foreign tradesmen. Likewise, the foreigner received concessions to work the mines, to cut the timber and to cultivate great farms, the products of which again leave the country by foreign-owned transportation for foreign markets. Mexican copper, Colombian petroleum, Costa Rican bananas, Cuban sugar, Brazilian rubber, Chilean nitrate and Argentine railways all illustrate the point. Whenever public works were needed a loan was floated to cover the investment, contracts were let to foreign construction companies and the debts passed on to the people. President Wilson described the situation:

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[4] Cf. George McBride, *The Indians of Latin America* (New York, 1924), pp. 7–8.

> There is one peculiarity about the history of the Latin-American states of which I am sure they are keenly aware. You hear of "concessions" to foreign capitalists in Latin America. You do not hear of concessions granted to foreign capitalists in the United States. They are not granted concessions. They are invited to make investments. States that are obliged, because their territory does not lie within the main field of modern enterprise and action, to grant "concessions" are in this condition, that foreign interests are apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition always dangerous and apt to become intolerable.

After selling the remarkable physical resources of their countries for foreign loans, political leaders either recklessly spent the funds or used them to gain partisan support in revolutionary movements to force the old party out. The reform party, then in need of money to carry out its program, floats new loans which are often used to pay more political debts incurred during its struggle for control. Thus foreign loans pile up until the country is practically owned by foreign bankers, and the slightest fluctuation of political sentiment in a debtor country immediately becomes a matter of economic as well as political interest to the foreigners who bought the bonds.

Again, when nationals see foreign-owned public utilities making large returns on investments and those profits going out of the country, they tend to pass restrictive laws and set up boards of control to compel the companies to invest their capital where it will benefit the country itself. Fighting such restrictive legislation, the foreign corporation may use funds to influence officials charged with the enforcement of these regulations, or they may call on their own government to fight such restrictions as being confiscatory.

Rivalries between the various foreign investors and traders in Latin America are giving considerable concern to those interested in world peace. The struggles between the North American and British oil interests in Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Bolivia have had great influence on international politics and have been responsible for much corruption and revolution.[5]

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

It is not surprising, under such conditions, that nationalism has become dominant. The cry " Mexico for the Mexicans " started the revolution which has so profoundly transformed that country and is now influencing all Latin America. " Peruvianize Peru " is the slogan printed on every pamphlet issued by the Apra party in Lima. " Buy from those who buy from us " is Argentina's latest motto. A Latin-American Union, with headquarters in Buenos Aires, has been formed for the purpose of united resistance against foreign domination and exploitation.

During the economic strain of the last few years these countries, like other nations, have naturally taken measures to protect themselves and work toward recovery. These measures have involved not simply the protection of domestic industries by the erection of barriers to foreign imports and financial aid to various domestic groups, but the fostering of a feeling that national interests should play a more important part in those industries now largely in foreign hands. To accomplish this, however, domestic capital is necessary. Therefore in various countries the government is attempting to put national concerns upon a competitive plane with the foreign groups. But this situation is complicated by the fact that the national budgets are affected when foreign trade begins to decline, because in over half the republics customs duties provide 50 per cent or more of the total governmental income. Being largely dependent upon export trade, usually of one or two commodities, Latin America finds that decline in exports curtails export taxes and reduces purchasing power of imports. This in turn decreases the amount of import taxes. With the principal items of income curtailed, governments are forced to suspend debt payments in order to maintain vital domestic services.

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[5] *We Fight for Oil,* by Ludwell Denny, tells the story of this bitter struggle.

Thus does the dominance of business by foreigners affect every phase of the national life. No wonder that nearly every Latin-American country is now adopting, in one way or another, the Calvo Doctrine which, as worded in the Mexican Constitution (article 27), states: " The nation may grant the same right [i.e., to own property] to foreigners [as to Mexicans] providing they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their governments in respect to the same."

THE FACTORY ARRIVES

The great American and English packing houses in the Río de la Plata district, Fordlandia in the rubber district of the Amazon, and the Standard Oil refinery in northern Peru typify the coming of the factory to Southern countries. The North American airplane, petroleum, textile and drug industries, among others, are opening factories and laboratories in the South, as are firms from other foreign lands. Brazilians, Argentines, Chileans, Mexicans and other nationals are themselves slowly entering into manufacturing. Once skilled labor attracted raw materials from a great distance, but now, in many forms of industry, raw materials attract capital and develop labor for their manufacture in close proximity. Because of the high duties, many kinds of manufactured goods now cost several times as much in Latin America as elsewhere. Hence it is advantageous to establish factories near the source of raw materials and close to the markets; for thus the duties are evaded and both seller and buyer gain. The isolation of

Latin America long retarded this development, but now the world has found its way to these countries and a constant procession of ships from all ports has begun to come to their shores.

The World War spurred this movement. Export restrictions, high prices and lack of tonnage made it difficult to get goods from abroad and naturally encouraged home-made products. In Brazil the manufacture of textiles, hats and shoes has advanced rapidly. The city of São Paulo, with a million inhabitants, has become the largest manufacturing center in Latin America. Of the total cotton goods consumed in Brazil, 90 per cent is manufactured at home, and of woolen goods, 50 per cent. Japanese colonists are now beginning to cultivate and manufacture silk for the domestic market. The government has been called to deal with the overproduction problem in the six thousand shoe factories in Brazil. (The United States has only two thousand, but larger, of course.) Chile makes much furniture, toilet articles and other small items. Being the only South American country with any considerable supply of coal, though it is of very low grade, she has a certain advantage in developing this young industry. Argentina has many small factories which make an infinite number of articles, especially of leather. Buenos Aires is second only to São Paulo as a manufacturing center. Flour mills and packing houses do an immense business, shipping to many parts of the world. Mexico has had for some time large textile and steel mills, and manufactures also paper, soap, flour, auto tires and fiber products. Peru is developing cotton factories and sugar refineries. The sugar *centrales* of Cuba and Santo Domingo are among the largest in the world. Uruguay is planning an important free zone near Montevideo to encourage international trade and assembly plants. Branch factories of great North American companies contribute to these countries by raising the wages of labor and by keeping at home a large part of the money which otherwise would be invested in foreign products.

Some believe that the increase of factories, with their higher wages, will eventually raise social as well as economic standards and create a middle class that will act as stabilizer for government and society. While visiting South America in 1935, however, the author was deeply impressed with the new emphasis on agriculture. In several countries the department of agriculture has suddenly become of primary importance. Much of this activity has resulted from the abandonment of the old one crop idea and the diversification of production.

ADVANCE IN AGRICULTURE

Ten years ago Argentina imported practically all her fruit, with the exception of the marvelous grapes of Mendoza; today no country enjoys finer native fruits. In the last few years it has been discovered that apples of rare flavor can be raised in the southern province of Rio Negro, and that superior oranges can be produced in the northern provinces of Corrientes and Misiones. Enormous crops of tomatoes are now raised in Mendoza, and modern canning factories, manufacturing ketchup and other products, have captured the Argentine market. Any number of new crops are being fostered by the government.

Not only is the Brazilian Department of Agriculture humming with the activities of specialists, statisticians and soil experts, but agricultural departments of the various states are buzzing just as busily. The men at the head of these departments are often real apostles, trained in North America or Europe, who expect to do nothing less than change the whole economic life of the community. One of those practical idealists, with his doctor's degree from the Pasteur Institute of Paris, maps out to callers the way by which he intends to transform the life of his state of Pernambuco. That whole section has been suffering from drought; the population is poorly distributed; there are practically no cattle and certain crops have been raised for so many years that the land is worn out. So he plans to do nothing less than transfer the population to a better part of the state, establish farms adapted to special products, and develop the cattle industry.

Nearly every country in South America is feverishly developing the production of cotton. It seems strange indeed to find in São Paulo the holy hill of coffee now being turned to the intensive cultivation of cotton. In April of 1935 a great cotton exhibition was opened in São Paulo. Cotton experts from the North these days are about as common in South America as were representatives of American banks seeking loan contracts before the crash of 1929. Brazil is hoping to regain the lead in world production of cotton which she held about a century ago.

Chile, which formerly received some 80 per cent of her national revenue from the export of nitrate, has recently made up her national budget without counting on a cent from that source, but expecting much from new developments in agriculture and certain industries. The Paraguayan government is now contracting specialists in cotton, in tobacco, in cattle, in citrus fruits and in soil analysis.

In spite of this emphasis on agriculture, however, there is no denying the fact that the machine age is rapidly invading Latin America and transforming its life. It is not waiting on the invention and improvement of machinery and the accumulation of capital as it did in Europe and North America, but is being developed through mass processes by outside forces that know with scientific acumen how to speed these processes. With it come social improvements — sanitary homes and properly adapted schools, health and labor regulations, promotion of the cultural and spiritual life of the people, and ability to purchase the skill of the engineer and the financier who are transforming these lands by building new factories, new transportation and entirely new physical life.

The coming of the factory, the opening up of virgin resources, the development of commerce and the influx of foreign capital and workers create conditions of life as far removed from those of a civilization primarily agricultural as the East is from the West. Daily habits, standards of living, methods of housing, sanitation, density of population, death rate, marriage rate, interdependence of individuals, classes, communities and nations, and a thousand other things are all profoundly affected by the organization of industry and the resulting development of mines, railways and factories. New and conflicting ideas and interests, class consciousness and at the same time a growing sense of solidarity, new conceptions of the relations of the individual to society embodied in socialism, syndicalism and anarchism, new rights, new duties, new opportunities, new responsibilities, new needs, new perils — all these are involved in the industrialization which is now being thrust upon Latin America.

IX

DICTATORS AND BANKERS

THE YEAR 1930 marks almost as definitely as does 1810 the beginning of a widespread revolutionary movement in South America. But today the fundamental objective is economic rather than, as in the struggle begun in 1810, political. During the World War the Southerner was deeply impressed with the power of the machine. Heretofore he had confined himself principally to agriculture, on which his financial and social structure was largely based. But some leaders began to believe that material development must proceed more rapidly if their countries were to take their place in the modern world. At the same time the United States became a creditor instead of a debtor nation and began searching for enterprises in which to invest her enormous surplus of capital.

THE NEW DICTATOR

These were the two circumstances mainly responsible for the rise in Latin America of a new type of dictator who looked upon his country as an undeveloped piece of real estate lying near enough to the great centers of wealth to be profitably improved with modern buildings, pavements, irrigation and electrification. Only money was needed for such modernization. The newly appointed agents of the North American bankers began to assure him that there would be no difficulty about that — providing he would give them sufficiently tight mortgages.

So the dictator and the banker outdid each other in speeding up the modernization of this big piece of real estate. Agents of American bankers sat on the doorsteps of the capital of every Latin-American country, seeking to negotiate loans. At one time, one authority tells us, there were twenty-two such agents in the faraway mountain metropolis of Bogotá, Colombia. The loans made by the bankers and accepted by the dictators set in motion two processes. High-pressure salesmen in the United States proceeded to sell to farmers, schoolteachers, clerks and widows these wonderful bonds of the newly discovered paradises down south. And, on the other side, the dictator began to imprison and banish editors, students, professors and labor leaders who protested against mortgaging to the foreigner the country's customs receipts, railroads, mines and other natural resources. Both salesmen and dictator were increasingly successful.

The United States government showed deep interest in the development of the loans and was active in promoting the new drive for North American trade dominance in the South. In a trade conference in Washington the veteran official of the Department of State, W. J. Carr, declared:

> Probably the principal activity of the Department of State and the foreign service of the United States has been devoted directly or indirectly to creating and maintaining a condition in which trade could be freely carried on by those seeking to engage in it.

Assistant Secretary of State W. R. Castle went still further, and remarked to a convention of exporters in Washington that " Mr. Hoover [secretary of commerce] is your advance agent and Mr. Kellogg [secretary of state] is your attorney."

The navy, not to be outdone, stated in its annual report in 1930 that " the navy not only assists our commercial firms to obtain business, but when business opportunities present themselves, American firms are notified and given full information on the subject." To what limits this policy has been carried was exposed by the Senate's munitions investigation in 1934–35, which revealed that United States naval missions to South America promoted traffic in arms, and that naval officers drew up plans and advised Southern nations — then engaged in disputes which our Department of State was trying to settle — in the purchase of submarines and airplanes. The 1932 Senate investigations into foreign loans disclosed many scandalous connections between bankers and government officials of both South and North.

Our Department of State made a new departure from its usual practice regarding the ever increasing loans to other peoples when it announced on March 3, 1922, that

> because of the vital influence upon our future foreign relations it is the desire of the government that it be duly and adequately informed regarding such transaction; viz., the floatation of issues of foreign bonds in the American markets before their consummation, so that it might express itself regarding them if that should be requested or seemed desirable.

No doubt this announcement was made with the idea that it would give the United States the right to stop abuses. But what were the results? A loan advanced to Salvador shortly afterward set a new loan-protection precedent in the partnership between the United States government and the bankers. The security fixed for the Salvador loan was "first lien on 70 per cent of customs revenues, which are collectible in United States gold and will be collected by the Metropolitan Trust Company, through its representative in San Salvador." The secretary of state agreed to the following procedure, outlined in article 9 of the loan contract, dated June 24, 1922, between the republic of Salvador and Minor C. Keith, former president of the United Fruit Company:

> In case there shall at any time arise between the republic, the fiscal agent and the fiscal representative, or any of them, any disagreement, question or difference of any nature whatever regarding the interpretation or performance of this contract, such disagreement, question, or difference shall be referred to the chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America through the secretary of the said United States of America, for determination, decision, and settlement by such chief justice, and the parties hereto severally agree that any determination, decision, or settlement made by such chief justice shall be accepted by them as final.

The bankers that floated the loan, taking advantage of the government's partnership, sent out a circular asking for buyers of bonds, in which they said:

> It is simply not thinkable that, after a federal judge has decided any question or dispute between the bondholders and the Salvador government, the United States government should not take the necessary steps to sustain such decision. There is a precedent in a dispute between Costa Rica and Panama, in which a warship was sent to carry out the verdict of the arbitrators.

Following the military occupation of Haiti in 1915, the finances of that country came under the direction of an American financial adviser. At one time, according to testimony before the United States Senate committee investigating Haitian affairs, he held up the salaries of the president and the Cabinet members to force the signing of an agreement giving a New York banking firm special privileges in Haiti. He was called to the state department in Washington to work on a loan of sixteen million dollars, which was afterward floated under the aegis of the state department. Just before its floatation the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society condemned the loan, saying it was

> issued over the protest of virtually the entire Haitian people, and it is based on illegal steps, including: military invasion by the United States naval forces of the independent Republic of Haiti in July, 1915; overthrow of the Haitian government, seizure of the Haitian customhouses and other sources of revenue; imposition of new Constitution by illegal plebiscite; floatation of loan, terms of which automatically extend United States occupation. . . .

The New York underwriters answered that they did not look beyond the guarantees of the United States government.

The *New York Times* reported on July 15, 1922, that while the executive department of the Cuban government, in trying to straighten out its finances, was considering a foreign loan, most of the Habana papers were charging American financiers with attempting "to force on Cuba another fifteen million dollar obligation in order to bring the country completely under their control, open the way to fiscal intervention and place the island in the same category as Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Panama." Party leaders of both houses of the Cuban Congress opposed the loan, denouncing it as "another link in the golden chain binding Cuba to the chariot of the United States." The fact that Major General E. H. Crowder, personal representative of President Harding, was in Habana at the time and was urging the loan, along with four important measures — modification of the civil service law, improvement of the system of accounting, investigation of the floating debt, and facilitation of the removal of judges — probably added to the spirit of resentment and fear. All of these measures were passed by the Cuban Congress and a loan of fifty million dollars was authorized.

The loans to Bolivia were among the worst ever floated. One of them completely tied up the financial life of the nation by pledging the customs receipts, along with various other vital parts of the national income, to repay the loan, and then went still further by putting the collection of the taxes and revenues of the country under the supervision of a fiscal commission of three, two of them Northerners representing the bankers.

As for any kind of real supervision of these loans by the state department, such as was seemingly intended when the bankers were requested to report all foreign floatations to the department, the records show that the request was a mere formality. Even under the worst conditions of practical bankruptcy, as in the latter days of the dictatorships of Leguía and Machado, no objections were made to loans to countries like Peru and Cuba.

U. S. INVESTMENTS

The United States investments in Latin America at the beginning of the World War amounted to $1,242,000,000. In 1929, when the increase of these investments was suddenly checked by the financial crisis in New York, they amounted to $5,587,494,100. Consider the enormous compromising influence of these investments in some of the countries more backward in industrial development! In Colombia only $2,000,000 of American money was invested in 1913, but in 1929 the amount had grown to $260,000,000. Within the same sixteen years, according to a study made for the World Peace Foundation by Max Winkler, the investments, including commercial enterprises and loans to governments, had grown in Peru from $35,000,000 to $150,000,000; in Chile, from $15,000,000 to $659,000,000; in Bolivia, from $10,000,000 to $133,000,000; in Brazil, from $20,000,000 to $476,000,000; in Nicaragua, from $3,000,000 to $24,000,000; in the Dominican Republic, from $4,000,000 to $24,000,000.

About one-third of these investments were in the nature of loans to Latin-American governments. The money was to be spent for public improvements, but actually much of it went for graft, for buying immunity from crime, and for preparations for war. The loans were conceded only after very severe mortgage conditions had been agreed to by the Latin-American dictators, and caused deep resentment among the helpless nationals who saw the future of their country thus pawned by their dictators.

When the financial crisis began in 1929, United States citizens, either government officials or representatives of bankers, were handling customs receipts in Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Peru and Bolivia. North American financial advisers were employed in, or financial missions visited, Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Chile. While no one could question the splendid and disinterested scientific service rendered by many North American specialists, neither could one ignore the dangers to international peace involved in this powerful control over other nations — dangers pointed out by many experienced people both in this country and abroad.

As long as the dictator could float on the tide of general prosperity, see foreign commerce grow, sell for high prices his country's raw materials; as long as he could continue to borrow from the foreign banker funds to beautify his capital and develop a certain amount of public works in the provinces, while handing out lucrative jobs to friends and paying well the army which supported him, he was fairly secure. Especially was this true if he took pains to stand well with the foreign government from whose citizens the money came and to whom much of his business was thrown, so that said government would deal severely with his enemies when they tried to start a revolution.

But when the source of borrowing suddenly ran dry and the price of raw materials fell sharply, the " dance of the millions " as suddenly ceased. This was what happened just preceding the plethora of revolutions from which nearly every Latin-American country has suffered within the last few years. The stock market crash in Wall Street in October, 1929, effectually stopped loans. Also it accelerated the movement, which had already begun before the crash, to puncture the balloon of false prosperity by deflating the price of coffee in Brazil, of nitrate in Chile, of sugar in Cuba, of tin in Bolivia, of cocoa in Ecuador and of petroleum in Colombia. Currency rapidly depreciated, unemployment grew by leaps and bounds and poverty of the most pitiful kind brought starvation to the people. The university students, the labor organizations and other social-minded groups saw their chance and joined hands with the army, now stripped of former rewards. Out went the old regime — Leguía in Peru, Siles in Bolivia, Irigoyen in Argentina, Ibáñez in Chile, Washington Luís in Brazil, Vásquez in Santo Domingo, Ayora in Ecuador — all were hurled from their seats. In the Caribbean others followed them, among them the terrible Machado of Cuba in 1933. And with the fall of these dictators came a fall in the value of Latin-American bonds.

STRAINED RELATIONS

This reaction brought about one of the most serious breaks in the friendship between the Americas that has ever occurred. In Latin America the air was rapidly filled with accusations against the bankers who had pressed the loans on the dictators. In North America the old cry was raised about the lack of honor in Latin America. The Southern countries began to suffer not only from the general world depression, but from unbearable service charges on foreign loans.

What a crop of problems has been harvested!

Of conditions in Brazil, Professor Erasmo Braga of Rio de Janeiro gave the following description which, to a certain extent, would apply to the Spanish-speaking republics as well:

> The present revolution is only a symptom of the internal trouble which for many years has caused increasing unrest and discontent. Professional politicians, illiteracy, clericalism, superstition among the masses, graft, bribery, for which foreign corporations have a large share of responsibility, squandering of public funds, indifference to national and political problems on the part of the very large section of the educated classes, maladjustment of democratic administrative machinery to the mentality of corrupt politicians — all these elements have aggravated the social and political situation. Since 1922 there has been growing unrest. The national debt has increased enormously. The rapid development of the country on account of its vast natural resources, geographic position and the activity of the industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises, has more and more become handicapped by out-of-date and fragmentary legislation. Utilitarian-

ism has deprived the nation of social and political ideals, and the prophetic voice of the few sincere leaders has found but a faint response from a small group. Communism has no grip on the Brazilian mind. Conditions of life are such that the middle classes suffer much more than the laborers. To justify the revolutionary movement, its leaders have bound themselves to reconstruct social order according to the new economic situation in the world, and do away with the evils which have caused increasing unrest and discontent. Their task is tremendous.

The precipitous slump in Latin-American bonds in the autumn of 1931 caused the organization in New York City of a Latin-American Bondholders Association. At that time it was estimated[1] that 122 of these loans had shrunk $73\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, or from $1,531,906,000 to $408,464,000, in value. The tabulation of South American debts prepared by the association shows Peruvian bonds as having declined the most in market values, the average low in 1931 being 6.8 per cent. Bolivian issues were 7.7 per cent of par, Chilean issues 12 per cent, Brazilian issues 18.1 per cent, Colombian issues 18.7 per cent, Uruguayan issues 24 per cent, and Argentinian issues 31.4 per cent.[2] This situation was declared to be without precedent in the history of dollar financing in any group of countries. Interest charges became so enormous that in several countries they amounted annually to more than half of the national budget. It is no wonder that Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Brazil declared moratoriums on these debts. Several other Central American countries strained themselves to such a point to keep up their foreign credit that public education, sanitation, roads and many social projects are being almost cut out of their budgets. All economy measures inflict intense suffering on people who never received any benefits whatever from the money they must now pay back.

When the author pointed out in 1925 that Latin America could not and would not stand for such conditions as the dictators and bankers were fastening upon them, and that sooner or later the moral and economic debacle would come, he was strongly criticized for what was termed lack of patriotism. But later the United States Senate appointed a committee to investigate the mess and Latin-American governments became busy issuing incriminating statements. What was treason in 1925 everyone applauds today.

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[1] *Hearings Before the Committee on Finance* (United States Senate, Seventy-Second Congress, S. Res. 19), pp. 324–27. A list of all South American bonds is given on pp. 328–29.

[2] The heaviest borrower was Argentina, with a total of $420,418,500, of which $389,414,000 is outstanding. The other borrowings were as follows: Bolivia, $68,653,500, outstanding $59,293,000; Brazil, $414,130,000, outstanding $359,745,000; Chile, $296,112,000, outstanding $282,935,000; Colombia, $170,335,000, outstanding $154,358,000; Peru, $94,500,000, outstanding $90,950,000; and Uruguay, $67,757,000, outstanding $59,490,000.

The crisis in economics brought a corresponding crisis in morals. A distinguished British engineer, who has spent most of his life in Buenos Aires, says:

> The greatest hindrance to the real advance of South America in public morality lies in the facility with which a very flood of money is thrown at the governments of these republics from London and New York.
>
> Steady retrogression in public morality is everywhere in evidence. Men of the austere type of Sarmiento, Avellaneda or Mitre no longer hold the reins of power, for political franchise has broadened so far ahead of political education that committee wire-pullers are able to assure the triumph of leaders of pliant temperament, who, even if in many cases clean-handed, are obliged to wink at the corruption of those who do not squirm as to the means, provided their personal ends are furthered. Hence the enormous waste of public wealth, and the concentration of huge charges passed on to future generations.
>
> There is probably as much per capita real wealth in the River Plata republics as in any societies, the media of circulation are more than sufficient to foment all the developments those societies can assimilate, there is more than ample bullion guarantee behind the fiduciary issues. There is everything except the will to cut down official expenditures to the reach of the average contributor. That such duty be inculcated it is necessary that foreign loans be discouraged and that taxation be on realized wealth, and not on the means whereby wealth is realized, as is the present system.

Let us look at a few of the countries and their perilous moral and spiritual situations as illustrations of results brought about by the combinations of dictators and speculators.

X

BONDS, NITRATES AND STUDENTS

THE DEBACLE IN PERU

AUGUSTO LEGUÍA became president of Peru in 1919 by a coup d'état. He had learned the value of machine civilization and of the methods of business promotion in Great Britain and the United States through his experience as a life insurance agent for a great New York company. He set up on paper a business and reform program which included modern public works, pavements, immense reclamation projects in the interior of the country, enlargement of the public school system and protection of the Indians. He began to call in foreign experts and to borrow foreign money. In ten years he had increased the public indebtedness of Peru from ten million to one hundred and eleven million dollars. When it became evident that his program of improvements involved immense graft and the mortgaging of Peru's future, the best citizens of the country began to criticize. Forthwith, the critics were ruthlessly imprisoned or sent into exile. Meanwhile, the president continued to float more loans by giving liens on petroleum, guano and customs, even granting to a foreign-controlled board the right of collecting taxes.

Financial experts of the United States government and some American bankers had warned all concerned that Peru was bankrupt. Nevertheless, in 1928, according to the admission of a New York banking agency before the United States Senate, a new loan was negotiated and sanctioned by President Leguía, whose son, Don Juan Leguía, received the sum of four hundred and five thousand dollars for securing his father's approval. This same young man had previously built a wharf on which he openly unloaded contraband goods, an operation whereby he netted himself several millions of dollars. Certain Chinese were given gambling privileges in the capital, where immorality and corruption ran riot.

During that period of corruption the ambassador of the United States, Alexander P. Moore, was quoted in the newspapers as declaring at a banquet tendered to the president: " Leguía is a greater commander than Caesar, a greater lawgiver than Napoleon, a greater diplomat than Richelieu; after God comes Leguía." The North American newspapers and other public organs were continually praising Leguía as one of the greatest of modern rulers, and representatives of the United States government often issued laudatory reports of Leguía's regime. In the meantime, as was said, leading citizens of Peru, who were noted for their idealism and unselfish patriotism, were being thrown into jail or banished from the country. The University of San Marcos was closed and the students were persecuted because they denounced the sale of their country to foreigners. During a visit of the writer to Peru in 1925 the students made the following appeal through him to the moral forces of the outside world:

> Our country is perishing for the lack of moral stamina, sacrificial service and practical idealism. Send us men to lead us into this new life. If you only come to develop our material resources, to work our mines and to cultivate our rich soil, Peru itself will remain poor in the real values of life. We have been trusting for a hundred years in literature and professionalism to save us. We are now disillusioned as to this. But we believe that to go to the other extreme of materialism will bring results just as disappointing. We call on your universities, your great foundations in social sciences, your leaders in moral and spiritual movements, to reach out a hand to the young men of Peru.

But we of the United States were too occupied with " practical " matters to heed the idealistic appeal of those students, among whom were several young men who are now in leading positions in the reform movement, notably Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

The end of Leguía came — just as the end of dictators usually comes — when he was seemingly at the height of his popularity. Some friends had suggested presenting their hero with a grand residence in which he might live in ease and honor after he retired. " It would have to be a mausoleum," replied His Excellency. One Sunday afternoon, accompanied by his intimate friends and foreign cronies, he was enjoying himself at the magnificent Hipódromo, built in the most extravagant style with the abundant resources furnished by generous North American farmers, clerks, widows and orphans, who had gladly contributed to the pleasure of the great man, graphically depicted to them by sprightly young salesmen of Peruvian bonds and distinguished government officials like Ambassador Moore! Leguía's ponies were winning and everybody was happy. An unfitting annoyance interrupts the peace — an aide reports to His Excellency that he is needed at the palace. Nothing important of course — a small insurrection in Arequipa. Faithful generals are called, orders are issued — but not obeyed. There is an all-night session of the Cabinet — to no avail. The hero has fallen. Completely abandoned, the great Leguía, in the grey dawn, submits his resignation and is led away to the prison which proves to be his death chamber.

In like manner, Porfirio Díaz, also called by North American publicists " the greatest ruler of his time," had slipped out of Mexico City in the night with a few friends to board in Vera Cruz the ship that carried him to exile. Thus also King Alfonso, " the most popular monarch in Europe," stole in darkness out of the Madrid palace to the Mediterranean and a coastal steamer that took him as an exile forever from " the glory that was Spain."

The present would be a good time for the glorifiers of dictatorships and loans to visit Peru. What arguments were heard in former days about the nation's great progress under Leguía's guidance: the splendid new system of pavements, the waterworks, the roads to hitherto isolated parts of the country, the embellishment of the cities by parks, buildings, plazas, boulevards, the marvelous country club which made life so delightful for Lima, the beautiful suburban ocean drive, the magnificent new piles of architecture — all of these things which were changing Peru from a backward country into a new civilized nation! But a year after the mighty had fallen the paint was already flaking off and the cement cracked on many of these monuments to extravagance, and visitors were learning that the most lamentable result of the dictator's regime was not the despoiled homes, not the poverty which wrings one's heart, not the neglect of public sanitation, not the breakdown of all the fine machinery erected by him without educating his country in its care; the saddest part of it all was that such a dictatorship had robbed the people of faith, of hope, of courage. Few Peruvians believed in their own power, in their neighbor's honesty, in the future of their country, after Leguía's rule.

With Leguía's fall in 1930 the exiles returned to their fatherland to rebuild their destroyed homes. The principal candidates for the presidency were two: the military leader of the revolution which overthrew Leguía, Colonel Luis Sánchez Cerro; and the former student-leader, Haya de la Torre. Sánchez Cerro was a military intriguer of the ordinary type, with little education and no conception of a philosophy of social democracy. Haya had been expelled from Peru by Leguía because he had led his fellow students in protest against the government's abuses. He had been a teacher in a mission school, noted for his high ideals. Following his banishment he wandered over America and Europe. He lived a year in Mexico, studying the revolutionary movement there; made a long visit to Russia; visited England, where he stayed at Oxford University and made contacts with the British Labor party; saw New York, Buenos Aires and Santiago, and lived for some time in Berlin.

During all this time he pushed by correspondence the development of the Apra ("Popular Alliance for American Revolution"), a radical organization of university students and other left-wing forces. The movement took on strength in Peru under the leadership of one of the most remarkable young men ever produced by South America, José Carlos Mariátegui, who died in 1930. After Leguía's fall the Apra called Haya from Berlin to be its candidate for the presidency. Though he had renounced any belief in communism some time before, his radical social platform frightened the conservative elements, who elected the mediocre military leader, Luis Sánchez Cerro. Soon the old procession of liberals toward prison and exile, started by Leguía, was again in full swing.

Peru seemed to be entering into a dark period of blood and war such as Mexico passed through from 1910 to 1920. Animosities, confusion of issues, hatred of foreigners as well as of other Peruvians, were everywhere in evidence. Lima almost daily passed laws against foreigners, and imitated Mexico in setting limitations on foreign schools. The government announced that if the United States placed the proposed duty on copper, which American interests in Peru developed and called many thousands of Peruvian workmen into the mountains to mine, Peru herself would adopt a general customs duty of 300 per cent on all North American goods. She also declared a moratorium on her national debt, so that bonds which were sold to gullible North Americans at about ninety-seven dollars were later priced in the open market at about seven dollars. Had the citizens and government of the United States not been so completely occupied in solving their own internal problems and adjusting their financial and economic relations with Europe, there would no doubt have been a great cry for military intervention in Peru and other Latin-American countries that declared moratoriums, in order to compel payment to our citizens of what are conceived as just debts. As one observer put it: " It cost the United States a hundred million dollars to lose the friendship of Peru, when she might have lost it for nothing."

Sánchez Cerro was assassinated on April 30, 1933. His successor, General Oscar Benavides, began a more conciliatory rule. He accepted the congratulations of his old friend, Dr. Alfonso López of Colombia, and arranged to call off the war dogs in both these countries by arbitrating the boundary dispute concerning Leticia. Political prisoners were liberated and the exiles were invited to return to their country. The most prominent of the liberated prisoners was Haya de la Torre, who had been confined in a dungeon under most barbaric conditions for over a year. A reception was prepared for him unequaled by anything previously known in South America. The great bull ring of Lima was equipped with loud speakers and fifty thousand people stood for hours awaiting him. For an hour and a half longer they listened to him outline the economic, social and political program of the Apra.

Apra now became a compact organization, with its press and its social, educational and research departments. It circulates by the hundreds of thousands a carefully prepared series of pamphlets. It sends its speakers to every part of the republic.

It conducts various co-operative enterprises. In Lima it operated restaurants which demonstrated how economy and cleanliness could be combined for the benefit of the public. Those who are accustomed to look for the mushroom growths of political movements in Latin America have been surprised at the remarkable sense of restraint and order, and the high moral code which the *Apristas* so rigorously exercise. Haya and his " cabinet members " meet regularly to discuss the country's business with the same seriousness which they expect to display when eventually called to rule. The organization claimed six hundred thousand bona fide members in September, 1934, each member paying ten centavos dues per week. There is soon to be erected in Trujillo, where one of the greatest slaughters of *Apristas* occurred, a monument to the six thousand martyrs said to have been slain during the last few years because of their devotion to the principles of Apra.

The following is an outline of the program of Apra:[1]

(1) *Political measures:* Revision of the political divisions of the country to correspond with economic needs, and the granting of greater self-direction to each region; establishment of the secret ballot; the raising to cabinet positions of directors of the departments of labor and industry, agriculture, public health and social service; granting of equal political rights to women; equalization before the law of natural and legitimate children; organization of an institute for vocational guidance and labor exchanges; separation of church and state (but with no persecution of religion, which is recognized as an important element of private life but a dangerous director of political life); settlement of all boundary questions; promotion with other Latin-American countries of a pact against imperialism and the organization of a court of arbitration.

(2) *Economic measures:* Complete reorganization of the economic life of the country, with dependence on Peruvian rather than on foreign capital. Among the specific reforms proposed are the following: basing of all programs on a scientific study of conditions; reform of tariffs to protect national industry; nationalization of transportation lines; national

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[1] This summary is taken from *Política aprista* and other pamphlets published by the party.

planning, with a semi-control of business; establishment of national banks to aid industry and encourage savings; promotion of co-operatives; nationalization of pawnshops; establishment of social insurance; guarantee of protection of labor, including recognition of the eight-hour day, the minimum wage and the right to organize. With the realization that Peru is predominantly agricultural, much attention will be given to bettering conditions through development of careful statistics, organization of agricultural schools, distribution of lands with indemnities for estates expropriated.

(3) *General domestic measures:* Establishment of a department of Indian affairs to improve the condition of the aborigines by restoring their communal lands and establishing schools especially adapted to their needs; facilitation of education for all children, with reform of school programs to make improvement of economic and health conditions a major consideration.

In 1934 the government launched a fresh persecution against Apra and drove some of its leaders into hiding and exile, fearing that should their peaceful campaign be allowed to proceed they would sooner or later win the elections. It has neglected, however, to consider the possibility that, should persecutions become too severe, the *Apristas* may be provoked to seize power before they and the country are ready for it.

In July, 1935, a new order for the arrest of Haya and other leaders was given by the Benavides government and many of the *Apristas* fled to Chile, where there are now several hundred Peruvian political exiles. Economic conditions in Peru have recently begun to improve, but the political future is still obscure.

CHILE IN CHAOS

Following the World War, Chile became the theater of a desperate struggle between old and new forces. A little oligarchy of some hundred families had ruled the country during the first century of its independence. It was only in 1920, when they elected as president Don Arturo Alessandri, that the lower classes and the few people who had begun to form a middle class were able to give expression to their demands for reform. Alessandri appointed two new ministers to his Cabinet — of labor and of public health — and introduced factory inspection as well as temperance and labor legislation. Chile literally seethed with new social thought; the newspapers were filled with articles on such questions as the labor movement, hygiene, temperance, new educational ideas, tax reforms, student reforms, votes for women, a new political constitution, separation of church and state, and every conceivable suggestion for social betterment. There appeared opportunely a number of social and spiritual leaders. Among them was Gabriela Mistral, who became famous as a Chilean poet and friend of children. Her social idealism brought the world to her feet. She represented the unity in common service of the privileged classes and the poor people. Here is an example of her writing and thought:

> I saw a woman opening a furrow. Her hips were swollen out like mine, by love, as she worked, stooping low over the ground. I put my arms about her waist and brought her home with me. She shall drink rich milk from my glass and enjoy the shade of my corridor, for she is burdened with the burden of love and if my breasts be not generous my son's lips will find their way to her abundant ones.

Some of the rich *damas* of the most distinguished families of Santiago, as well as the women workers in the factories, joined in a common movement to uplift the Chilean people.

But the pace in social reform set by the president was too rapid; reaction set in. A great opportunity for remaking the nation was lost. The reform president was ordered out of the country and a military leader, General Carlos Ibáñez, succeeded him. He became enamored, as had Leguía, Siles and others, of a spectacular industrial program built on foreign gold. Money was borrowed by the hundreds of millions from North American financiers, some estimates placing those investments in 1932 as high as one billion dollars. Many privileges were given in secret to North American economic interests. Laborers who complained of their conditions and went on strike were cruelly treated by the military. The Latin-American colony of exiles in New York and Paris began to be augmented by Chileans. Freedom of the press, so long the glory of the Chilean people, disappeared. The nitrate industry — the economic mainstay of Chile — was turned into a corporation called " Cosach," capitalized at $375,000,000, with the government supposedly owning 51 per cent of the shares; but when the facts were finally ferreted out by an angry public, it appeared that the government had practically sold out its interest to a foreign concern. Patience ceased to be a virtue finally, and Ibáñez was removed from power. Anarchy threatened; the students of the university voluntarily organized a military guard and were responsible for order in the city of Santiago for several days.

A new president of conservative persuasion, Dr. Juan E. Montero, was elected; the church and other reactionary interests regained much power; an effort was made to inoculate the country against growing communistic sentiment among the starving laborers, the public schoolteachers, and the intellectual group that proposed no longer to suffer control by the old oligarchy. Chile's credit, which had always been the best, now fell so low that her bonds sold for about eight dollars on the hundred. Animosities were everywhere developed; the hopeful social reformers of ten years before were set against one another. Former leaders found themselves in hopeless confusion. Even the National Education Association was considerably influenced by communism. Vitality was at low ebb and blackest pessimism seemed to be in control. The university had a new rector every few weeks; public education was disorganized. The nation awaited in hunger and pain an authoritative voice to point out the way of life. In the old days the Roman Catholic church, its clergy in Chile being of a high order, would have led; but neither Catholicism nor Protestantism seems to have a commanding voice today. Nowhere was there greater need for strengthening the small social-minded groups than in wounded, stricken Chile.

Following a new record for displacement of presidents, Chile recalled Arturo Alessandri to the presidency in 1932, and he is now making herculean efforts to solve the stupendous problems facing the nation. Formerly, President Alessandri had been considered a radical, but in the last election he received conservative support because of the general fear that the extremists might triumph. Upon entering office on December

24, 1932, he selected a Cabinet composed chiefly of moderates and conservatives. Four major problems confronted his administration: restoration of social and political stability, agrarian reform, economic recovery, and the foreign debt.

Relative peace now returned, in contrast with the turbulent history of 1932. Alessandri ruled with extraordinary powers, enforcing press censorship and crushing anti-government propaganda. Acute social tension was created through the opposition of steadily growing communistic and fascistic movements. Although inclining to the conservatives President Alessandri endeavored to maintain an equilibrium between the extremes.

After the overthrow of the Montero government, fear of left-wing forces and militarist influence had led to the formation of a "Republican Guard." This organization represented for the most part the upper and middle classes. It claimed to have forty thousand members and was an important factor in upholding the Alessandri regime. Its adherents supported the Constitution and took an oath to "combat all tyranny, be it communist, civil or military," and to defend with their lives, if necessary, the "system of democratic republican government." A more extreme organization was that of the National Socialists, who had borrowed ideas from Italian and German sources. This organization had only about ten thousand members, a much smaller force than that of the militia. The *Nacistas* sought to establish a fascist regime, while the militia supported the constitutional government and remained on good terms with the existing conservative parties.

Because of industrial discontent, which was beginning to affect the agricultural laborers, the conservative landowners supported Alessandri in the 1932 elections with the hope that his previous popularity among nitrate workers might check the disturbance. In the past the nitrate fields had provided work for the excess population in central Chile unable to find other occupation because of the system of large estates. But with the closing of many nitrate fields, agitation for land reform threatened to become more acute. With the founding in 1928 of an Institute of Agricultural Colonization, the president was empowered to expropriate necessary lands on grounds of public utility. The few colonies started for long attained only limited success; progress in the breaking up of large estates has not advanced.

Scandals connected with Cosach, the great nitrate combine, continued to stir Chile, just as the Staviski affair aroused France. The United States firm of Guggenheim Brothers, which already had fifty million dollars invested in Chilean copper mines, went heavily into the nitrate business after Secretary of Commerce Hoover had advised American capital not to neglect that important field. The firm developed a new process for treating the ore, bought out two large British companies, and headed the corporation against which there have been so many accusations since the fall of Ibáñez. The Alessandri government, compelled by popular clamor to dissolve Cosach and reorganize the nitrate industry, did so by establishing the Chilean Nitrate and Iodine Sales Corporation — a partnership that gave the government a far better deal than did the old Cosach.

The present looks like the end of an era. For fifty years the life of Chile has revolved around nitrate. That was the main issue in the War of the Pacific. With acquisition of the rich nitrate provinces, Chilean historians point out, the fatal influence of easily gained wealth came into the national life. For many years practically half the national budget was raised by export tax on this product. At the same time the exploitation of the workers in the nitrate mines aroused among the proletariat a discontent that is still seething, while the neglect of other economic interests greatly unbalanced the nation's finances.

I remember that on my first visit to the country in 1914 I argued with Chileans against the advisability of putting such complete trust in one commodity. They were sure then that for at least fifty years they would be practically supported by the immense beds of nitrate. But today all the big nations are making synthetic nitrates, with the result that the revenues from nitrate export have fallen so low that in the 1934 budget, for the first time in half a century, the government did not even list it as a probable source of income. So one more Latin-American nation loses its particular bonanza and confronts the necessity of reorganizing its whole economic life on a less extravagant and more varied plan — just as when Peru lost its guano market, Brazil its rubber, Mexico its oil — just as now Cuba sees her income from sugar dwindling — just as when Bolivia will lose her income from tin.

Chile declared a complete moratorium on its foreign debt on August 18, 1931. Suspension of payments ultimately affected not only the direct obligations of the central government, totaling $338,000,000, but also the government-guaranteed debt of certain enterprises, principally the Mortgage Bank aggregating $99,000,000 and municipal loans valued at $20,500,000. According to the government's statement: " In the last four years the country has fundamentally changed its policy of prudent and normal economic development, having made excessive use of credit, and having increased its ordinary expenditures beyond its capacity to meet them."

Resumption of payments on Chile's external debt, which would require forty million dollars (gold) annually, is blocked by a precipitous decline in the country's exports and by an internal depression marked by a straitened national budget and depreciated foreign exchange. Before the debt service can be really resumed it seems probable that not only must world economic conditions improve, but that Chile's foreign obligations must be substantially scaled down.

The suspension of work on Chile's social debt offers still greater dangers. Modern conceptions of social justice are too firmly embedded in the hearts of both the intellectuals and the proletariat for Alessandri's very carefully adjusted compromises between the capitalistic and socialistic groups to be long accepted. In the beginning of 1937, however, with the election of President Alessandri's successor facing the country, there was still no definite evidence that Chile has found the necessary leadership for the entrance into a long delayed but greatly needed modernizing process.

Thus closes the " flier in Wall Street " as experienced by the two most important countries of the west coast. The experiences of neighboring countries were not very different. The bankers and the dictators had their fling — and in those days woe be unto the North American who criticized the banker or the South American who criticized the dictator. But today the wreckage is strewn over both the continents. In the United States it consists of people who spent their careful savings for the bonds which bankers assured them were gilt edged, but for which they assumed no responsibility other than that of taking out their own fat commissions. " See the nice presents your widows and orphans have made us," said a Chilean as he showed me the great new marble skyscrapers erected for government office buildings under the Ibáñez regime. " We do not really need them; you see that they are not by any means completely occupied; but it was nice of you to treat us so kindly."

As for Colombia — which is not treated here in detail since its splurge was not followed by a violent upheaval — Sir Arthur Salter says:

> Between 1924 and 1928 it borrowed about $153,000,000. A large part of this was devoted to constructing a railway to connect two valleys separated by a range of mountains about nine thousand feet high. There was no commercial justification for it, since both valleys had their own outlet to the sea. A very expensive tunnel through the top of the mountain range was begun and then abandoned; and while the federal authorities were driving a tunnel through the mountains the local authorities were making a costly road over them.

These countries, therefore, faced not only the general world depression but larger charges for foreign debts than did the countries of Europe who owed war debts. Currency was everywhere depreciated and deflation went on at a giant pace. We in the United States think we have suffered, but the dire poverty found in nations like Peru, Chile, Colombia and Cuba is beyond anything that we know. These countries face a tremendous struggle in the years to come, with little to expect but poverty. As a Chilean student, Professor Arturo Torres Rioseco, said following the downfall of Dictator Ibáñez in Chile, when the country was horrified to find that it owed foreign bankers something like five hundred million dollars: " Now is the time to reconstruct, to clean our house and our souls; to pay our bills — how much? Three to five hundred millions. So forward, with much work and little to eat. Sancho has shown us how he governs his island; now let us live by ideals, the work of Quixote." [2]

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[2] *La Nueva democracia,* Oct., 1931.

The elderly statesmen are still discussing the problem from the political standpoint, believing that this or that reform of the Constitution or election laws, and so on, would be a panacea for their ills. There is however in all these countries a group of young men and women who see clearly that the old political reforms will get them nowhere, that what they need, as one expressed it, is not only a new deal, but a whole new pack of cards.

XI

POLITICS, WHEAT AND COFFEE

ARGENTINA FALTERS ON THE WAY

OF ALL recent revolutions that in Argentina came as the greatest surprise, for it was generally believed that the habit of overthrowing governments by force had been outgrown in that country. But certain peculiar conditions prepared the way for an overturn which was more political than social. Instead of a dictatorship allied with foreign power, the official church and the conservative landed interests, there existed a literal one-man rule. The eighty year old President Hipólito Irigoyen had been re-elected on a radical ticket in October of 1928. He immediately began an endeavor to isolate the country from the rest of the world, as he also isolated himself from the general public and especially from the capitalist classes in Argentina itself. Inaccessible personally, he appointed to office political henchmen through whom he intervened in the state governments of a number of the Argentine provinces, and allowed graft to honeycomb every department of public service. Consequently, the more conservative capitalist and landed interests united with the army to dispose of him.

Thus ended in 1930 the rule of one of the strangest individuals in Argentine history. His career was in a way a history of the rise and triumph of the radical party. He took part in the revolution of 1890 which ended the tyranny of Juárez Celman. He contributed greatly to the building up of the radical party in opposition to the conservatives, and was his party's first representative to be elected president, winning that office in 1916.

He set himself up as a friend of the common people, and was as much worshiped by them as he was hated by the aristocrats. Like Rosas, a half century before, he owed much of his popularity to his refusal to be led by foreign governments. Although tremendous pressure was brought upon him he refused to go into the war with the Allies. As the Argentine Constitution does not allow two successive terms in the presidency, Irigoyen stepped aside in 1922 for Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear, his own choice for the post.

He intended to run again for president in 1928, but did not think it necessary to raise a hand to bring about his nomination. He said nothing, made no speech, wrote no letter, and did not allow the radical national convention to nominate him until a week before the election; nevertheless, he easily carried the country, polling nearly two-thirds of the popular vote. Irigoyen's fame at that moment appeared to be as secure as his mastery in Argentine politics was indisputable.

In accordance with his anti-foreign policy, one of his first acts after entering upon his term of office was to recall the Argentine ambassador from Washington, leaving the post unfilled for some time. He was the last to join in welcome to President-elect Hoover when the latter was on his visit to South America, although his attitude when his guest arrived seemed to be most cordial and attentive. He was a consistent opponent of the League of Nations, and because of his exclusivist policy Argentina failed to be represented in many international congresses and conferences. He himself remained cloistered, taciturn, self-centered and frigid. He was not by inclination an economist or an administrator. His high-handed assumption of the governments of various provinces, his indifference to financial and budget problems, his methods of secrecy and his extraordinary inattention to the routine of administration aggravated an unrest arising from crop failures, increase in imports and decrease in exports, flow of gold abroad, depreciation of the peso, and finally the closing of the government's gold conversion office.

Long before his downfall opposition to the government's program had been steadily growing in intensity, and it became more evident day by day that a change was imminent. Rumors of all kinds were afloat, the attacks of the press became more violent. On September 6 the president, allegedly acting under the advice of his physician, delegated his powers to the vice-president. The army did not approve his action, however, and early on the morning of September 7 all Buenos Aires heard the droning of military airplanes which circled over the city heralding the army's revolt. Business was hastily suspended. The generals issued an ultimatum, to which the answer was a white flag hoisted above the presidential palace, indicating the government's surrender and abdication. Then General José F. Uriburu, commander-in-chief of the army, entered the government house with his staff and seized the reins of power. This immediate intervention of the army was on the whole peacefully carried out. A few cadets and a student were killed in the excitement and the houses of Irigoyen and of some of the ministers were sacked by the populace, but in general it was a comparatively bloodless, well-mannered revolution.

The government of General Uriburu was a dictatorship representing the conservative elements. An influential army officer and son of a former conservative president, he was supported by the old aristocracy. He brooked no opposition. He intervened in twelve of the fourteen provinces, appointing governors who did his bidding. Although he acknowledged the triumph of the radicals in elections in the province of Buenos Aires, he refused nevertheless to permit them to take office on the ground that he could not keep his promise to carry out certain policies if opposing elements were allowed in the government.

Argentina, unused to such violent suppression of liberty, was so dissatisfied that presidential elections were demanded. The radicals, the majority party, were led by the distinguished former president, Marcelo T. de Alvear. But Uriburu soon announced that the radical candidate was disqualified. When the radicals refused to go to the polls the conservative nominee, General Agustín P. Justo, was elected on November 9, 1931. Having been voted into office by a minority he had no party to back him in Congress and had considerable difficulty in carrying out his conservative program.

President Justo has continued the persecution of the radicals and from time to time has imprisoned or exiled some of the most distinguished Argentine citizens, including Dr. Alvear, Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón, and the well known educator and literary leader, Dr. Ricardo Rojas. The latter had always remained aloof from politics, but felt now that it was the duty of the moral and spiritual leaders to participate in keeping the country from the serious position toward which it was drifting. But Argentine people are definitely not of the revolutionary kind. Most of them are willing to suffer much before approving a repetition of the action that removed Irigoyen, both because they are sensitive to any act that might imply that they are not highly civilized, and because they do not desire to interrupt business.

CAPITALIST ARGENTINA

Argentina is in many ways a typically capitalistic country. As in the United States, its working classes are often imbued with a hope that they too will become bosses some day and enjoy the huge incomes so ostentatiously spent by the rich. In a railway trip from Buenos Aires to Mendoza the author met an Italian immigrant who had come to Argentina with nothing, but had grown rich as a contractor and was taking a vacation at a mountain resort near Mendoza. He had all the psychology of certain " self-made " rich men in the United States — " The laborer is like a draft-horse! Treat him rough, feed him well, and control of him is easy! "

Like the North American also is the Argentine in his inclination to judge a person by his material wealth. The German writer Kasimir Edschmidt, in one of the best of modern travel books, *South America, Lights and Shadows,* was struck by this trait. He had called upon a citizen of Buenos Aires to whom he had a letter of introduction and of whom a fellow citizen had said: " Don't fail to make this man's acquaintance; he has a fine estate of twenty-three thousand acres in the pampas." While discussing with this gentleman one of the stars in the Colón opera, Edschmidt idly asked if she had a good voice. " Undoubtedly," was the reply, " and her jewels are worth a million and a half pesos. Come out and see us and you will meet her. We are living out-of-town, Tigre way; it's a new house, two thousand pesos a month." The German visitor tells us that he soon began to prepare himself for the questions: " How about your bank account? How is your income progressing? " It would be unwarranted, of course, to conclude that the Babbitts are the only kind of citizens in Argentina, since the friendly visitor can easily find delightful and cultured people, much more interested in spiritual and educational problems than they are in commercial subjects.

The growth of Buenos Aires makes marvelous history. Its first passenger dock was opened in 1855. In 1888 it had a population of 300,000; a half century later it had 2,300,000. As for the country itself, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, Argentina had fewer than 2 million inhabitants; twenty-five years later it had 4 million and by 1936 over 12 million. The province of Buenos Aires, which is half as large as France but contains only 3 million inhabitants, shows the possibilities for future development. The territory of Santa Cruz, about the same size, has only 12,000 population. Besides two of the greatest newspapers of modern times, *La Prensa* and *La Nación,* both of which have more than a quarter of a million circulation among readers of Spanish, there are dailies printed in more than a dozen foreign languages. The bookshops and the magazine stands in Buenos Aires display an amazing amount of literature produced in Argentina itself, to say nothing of the literary importations in many tongues from all the lands of the earth.

It is perfectly natural for Argentina to have the commercial view of life, since it has made such a remarkable success of commerce. Of the South American continent, Argentina has only 1,150,000 of the 7,500,000 square miles of territory and 16 per cent of the population. Yet it has 50 per cent of the foreign trade, 43 per cent of the railways, 60 per cent of the freight, 56 per cent of the passenger traffic, 45 per cent of the telephones, 58 per cent of the motor vehicles, 60 per cent of the postal business.

Argentina is exceedingly proud of her position, and her greatest desire is to remain respectable. She has become a white country, a fact which her sociologists strongly emphasize. The white aristocracy are anxious to keep out the foreign element that might bring further revolutions. Immigration is desired only as it augments the white element and serves the rich classes. The country is like a successful young businessman who has inherited a fortune and knows how to add to it by good management. He is so sure of his future that he is often spending more than his income. He feels there is no need to worry, that his enormous resources will some way or other provide for debts and for maintenance of the large and showy establishment which his position in the world demands.

So it is with this rich young nation whose resources are so great that it may be blinded to the possibility of overdrawing on the future. With most citizens absorbed in business, politics is left to politicians. Except in extreme situations, such as the last days of the Irigoyen administration, the average individual and the press pay little attention to the way the government is run, and, far different from most other Latin-American countries, politics is not an absorbing topic of conversation. The capitalistic system is unanimously accepted by the ruling classes, who lament the presence of the few "foreign agitators" among the laboring class and a group of "parlor bolshevists" among the intellectuals.

This is not to say that within the accepted capitalistic system there is not much opposition to abuses. The strong socialist party is a thorn in the side of the majority political group. It works for reforms with great vigor, but for reforms within the system, not for a new system itself. Argentine liberal leaders, like Alfredo Palacios and the late José Ingenieros, have been outstanding opponents of the imperialism and the Babbittry of the United States. But little legislation has been passed toward changing or reforming the capitalism, which is very similar to that in our country. University students led in educational reform in 1917, but at present the educational situation has largely drifted back to its former condition. Labor has made vigorous and successful demands for its rights, but where any of these movements have threatened to destroy the old order, they have been promptly squelched. Foreign agitators, during the last fifteen years, have been deported in considerable numbers. Immediately following the World War, when Argentina witnessed a welter of strikes, including a general strike and a particularly severe port strike, it looked as if communism might gain an influential place. But radicalism was soon routed both among the labor group and in the university circles.

As a young, growing, capitalistic country, with great natural resources and large immigration from Europe, Argentina has most of the virtues and vices of the United States, which it is so fond of criticizing. Indeed, one wonders if the reason why the two countries have such a hard time getting along together is because each of them, one at the extreme south and the other at the north of the continent, is sure that it is the greatest of American lands and therefore should direct the orchestra.

At most Pan-American conferences delegates from the United States and Argentina have found themselves rivals. During the first conference at Washington in 1889 these two delegations took up a great part of the time in arguing with each other. At the sixth Pan-American conference at Habana, in 1928, Mr. Hughes and Dr. Pueyrredón, the Argentine ambassador at Washington, heading their respective delegations, were in continual conflict until the latter finally resigned. At the seventh Pan-American conference in Montevideo, 1933, Secretary of State Hull made a special effort to work harmoniously with the Argentine minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Saavedra Lamas. To his success were in part due the good results of that conference. President Ayala of Paraguay said to me, in a discussion concerning differences over the Chaco, and other Pan-American questions, that if we could get the United States and Argentina to work together Pan-Americanism would have far more chance to succeed. In the Buenos Aires peace conference of 1936 Argentina again showed herself reluctant to agree with the United States and the rest of the countries who were working for a closer concert of action on the American continent. The attitude of her minister of foreign affairs, who had just served as president of the League of Nations assembly, at times threatened the harmony of the American meeting with the fear that something might be done to cripple European relations.

Just as the very power of the United States in her commercial and political drives helped to make her unpopular in the rest of America, so it has been with Argentina. The smaller countries of South America are all critical of this neighbor, who has often held herself aloof from the others, or has proclaimed her right to lead the rest of the continent. At the conclusion of the recent Pan-American conferences there was a good deal of criticism of Argentina's imposed leadership on the part of smaller neighboring nations. She is in much the strongest financial condition of any South American country. In the latter months of 1936 the government floated an internal loan, paid off a foreign loan, offered to buy the interests of the Standard Oil Company for 140,000,000 pesos and purchased the Cordova Central Railway from its British owners. In a recent effort to lower the cost of beef to the public, when a British packing company claimed they kept no account of their costs, the government searched a ship about to sail and seized the company's books, which were supposedly safely on their way to the company's headquarters in London. The books were ceremoniously placed at the disposal of the congressional investigating committee, and the English manager was unceremoniously placed in jail. This incident did not, naturally, heighten the respect of Argentina for foreign business concerns nor lessen the nationalistic conception of its ability to cope with the foreigner. The latter may thoroughly disagree with the way Argentina treats him, but he will tell you that the country possesses very keen bankers and economists and faces a promising future.

An evidence of the nation's strength is seen in such facts as the following: Argentina almost alone among the nations of the world has balanced its budget for the past three years; the floating debt has been reduced from 1,200,000,000 pesos to 100,000,000 pesos; grain price control since 1933 has been successful, exchange control has built a large gold stabilization fund; hundreds of millions of pesos are being spent on a pay-as-you-go system for country-wide roads; the prospects for the harvest of small grains are the best in years; prices for grains, hides and wool are high; the bond market is firm, the money market easy, the banking system modern, commercial failures low, and the nation at peace with all the world.[1]

The presidential elections of 1938 will be of great importance. The best friends of the country, within and without, hope that President Justo, who so warmly defended democracy during President Roosevelt's visit to Buenos Aires, will decide to grant free elections so that this great American land may once more be unreservedly counted on the side of democracy.

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[1] From a statement issued by the Buenos Aires branch of the First National Bank of Boston.

STATES RIGHTS AND COFFEE UPSET BRAZIL

The revolution in Brazil in 1930–32 saw the most serious fighting of any of the South American uprisings, and at one time it looked as if certain states might secede from the union. The causes were political and economic rather than social. The results, however, are now seen to involve fundamental social changes.

Since the inauguration of the republic the various states of Brazil have enjoyed great liberty in conducting their own affairs. Two powerful central states, however, São Paulo and Minas Geraes, have controlled the federal government, it being a kind of unwritten law that the president should be selected alternately from those states. Many protests have been made by other states of the federal entity, especially by the powerful Rio Grande do Sul in the south, and Bahía and Pernambuco in the north. But elections have usually been dominated by the president in power and there has seemingly been no way of breaking the hold of the two controlling states that pay most of the taxes and have the largest population.

In 1930 conditions in Brazil were so unstable that the time seemed opportune for the politically subordinated states to assert their rights. Brazil has always been a heavy borrower of foreign capital, her total foreign investments being about two and a half billion dollars, one billion of which was imported following the Word War. No long-lived dictator was responsible for this over-borrowing. Nor were there any great scandals in that connection, such as occurred in some other South American countries. But there were great extravagance and waste which so weakened the government that the least attack might upset it.

As the world's greatest producer of coffee and the second producer of rubber and cocoa, Brazil has been affected seriously by the world's overproduction of raw materials. The São Paulo Coffee Institute attempted to control coffee exports to sustain the price of this commodity, but the effort failed.

Moreover, the Brazilian budget has shown a chronic deficit — a deficit which has usually been covered by foreign loans. A considerable part of the loans made to her was used in speeding up the production of coffee and financing its storage while awaiting better prices. The average consumption of Brazilian coffee is 16 million bags per year. In 1931 there were 38 million bags in storage, because of overproduction which had been financed by foreign loans. In spite of the burning of millions of bags (12 million in 1932) the price of coffee dropped from an average of twenty cents a pound in much of the post-war period to an average of five cents a pound in 1932. It seems very doubtful, therefore, that these loans were of any benefit to Brazil. Certainly they were a factor in weakening the government and promoting the long costly revolution lasting some two years, which caused the loss of hundreds of lives and millions of dollars.

Politically, the revolution was aimed against the domination in federal affairs of the state of São Paulo. That state was the center of the coffee industry, and President Washington Luís, whose term was to expire in November, 1930, was accused of nursing the industry and otherwise favoring São Paulo to the neglect of other industries and other areas. Moreover, the president, himself a Paulista, did not observe a tacit understanding that the presidency should alternate between the two states of São Paulo and Minas Geraes. Instead, he dictated the nomination of Dr. Julio Prestes, another Paulista, who was elected in March, 1930, over a liberal opponent in balloting which, according to the opposition, was accompanied by fraud.

The opponent of Julio Prestes was Getulio Vargas, a leader from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, who had the support of the province of Minas Geraes. The liberals, who actually polled seven hundred thousand out of the two million votes cast, believed that this vote would have been larger had the polling been fair. Dr. Vargas, after several weeks of fighting, placed himself at the head of the government in Rio de Janeiro. He had not been long in power when a growing dissatisfaction began to be manifest in various states, due largely to his failure to return at once to constitutional government. It culminated in 1932 in the São Paulo revolt. Not since the

Civil War in the United States had there been such a sanguinary conflict in the western hemisphere.

The government forces succeeded finally in quelling the revolt, but opposition to Dr. Vargas continued in the south, particularly in São Paulo. Soon after taking office, Dr. Vargas dissolved Congress and the legislative and deliberative assemblies of all states and municipalities. All powers in the executive and legislative branches of the government were vested in the provisional government, and its leader frankly designated himself dictator. In his decree ordering the dissolution of Congress and the organization of the provisional government, he provided for a new constitution. The Constitution of Brazil up to that time had been the one adopted by the first Brazilian republic in 1891, modeled on the Constitution of the United States, though with certain modifications.

NEW CONSTITUTION INTRODUCES SOCIAL CHANGES

The constitutional assembly, which for the better part of a year debated the issues involved in a new national charter, revealed the great change of thought that had recently come over this conservative country. Brazil, with her inheritances from the Empire, has been slower to welcome the more radical attitudes than some of her sister states. It was especially interesting to follow the long discussions of the convention which revealed the mind of the nation in both its wise and foolish aspects. As finally adopted in 1934, the Constitution bore little trace of the more radical proposals discussed by the assembly.

The strong note of nationalism (formerly less prominent in Brazil than in any other large American country) that pervaded the assembly indicates that a marked change is coming over the land. Not only nationalism but a minor tinge of socialism had a place in the new document, as had also centralization. Universal suffrage was granted; extension of the vote to women was a striking innovation — an eloquent demonstration of the surprisingly powerful position women have come to assume in a land where they were peculiarly backward in political life. The drastic limitation of immigration, which was imposed by a minority group after a newspaper campaign against the Japanese, was soon recognized as a mistake and

Congress considered a revision of the provision that immigration from any one country may not exceed annually 2 per cent of the total number entering Brazil during the past fifty years. The provisions which require that foreign enterprises and industries be directed and managed by Brazilians are in consonance with a general Latin-American trend to compel foreign capital to contribute to national development.

From the point of view of the internal development of Brazil, the ending of the domination of the central states and the "nationalization" of the federal government are the most significant changes. Many of the unusual powers granted to the states in the former Constitution were transferred to the national government, but not to the president. In the new dispensation he is no longer as powerful as formerly.

The Senate, composed of two representatives from each state and two from the federal district, was charged with guarding the Constitution and co-ordinating the entire government. The Chamber of Deputies is now composed of one representative of each one hundred and fifty thousand persons. One-fifth of its members are elected by professional and trade associations. The president, elected by direct suffrage for a term of four years and debarred from succeeding himself, may no longer arbitrate in matters involving states' rights, that duty going to the Senate. The federal judiciary remained virtually unchanged, though provision was made for what has been popularly called a "brain trust":

> Each minister shall be assisted by one or more technical councilors, co-ordinated by the nature of their functions into general councils, consulting bodies for the use of the national assembly or the federal council. It is forbidden to any minister to take a step contradictory to the unanimous opinion of his respective council on any matter that may have been submitted to it.

A new agency of public relief was established, under the name of the Public Ministry, to watch over the nation's poor. The national government was given the right to impose several taxes that heretofore belonged to the states. All Brazilian women and men eighteen years of age or older are eligible voters. Army and navy sergeants, officers of police, and naval and military students are denied the franchise.

While socialized tendencies do not go nearly so far as those in the Mexican Constitution, the following provision leaves room for further advancement:

> The economic order must be organized in accordance with the principles of justice and the requirements of national life, safeguarding for all a dignified life.

Under the new provisions, directorates of public utilities must have a majority of Brazilian nationals and the state may take over any industrial enterprise "in the public interest." Deposit banks may be required to submit to progressive nationalization.

The Constitution provides for a maximum working week of six days and a maximum day of eight hours. It decrees that no worker's wages shall be less because of age, sex or marital status. Squatters who have remained on land for ten years may receive, as their share of it, up to ten hectares (about twenty-five acres).

State and church remain separate, as in the 1890 Constitution, but the clerical power was sufficient to defeat a strenuous effort to insert a clause providing for divorce. Weddings performed by ordained clergymen of any religion are recognized in the new document. Religious teaching is recognized as a regular part of the curriculum in public schools, parents or guardians to choose and declare the religious preference of pupils.

Two days after promulgating the new Constitution, the assembly, on July 17, 1934, acting under its rights, elected as the first constitutional president Dr. Getulio Vargas, who had been provisional president since leading the revolution in 1930. Thus Brazil, with a more modern charter, looking at least in a small way toward the reduction of the tremendous inequalities between the rich and the poor, returned to the rank of nations living under constitutional government.

More progressive forces expressed considerable disappointment at the strong clerical influence in the constitutional assembly which defeated a number of the social advances proposed. The election of Dr. Vargas, under whose direction the assembly was held, raised the question as to how far the government would advance in real democratic expression of the popular will. In the early part of 1936, following an uprising which the president claimed to be communistic, this question was answered. A large number of officials and educators, who had the reputation of being the most progressive and patriotic elements in building the new Brazil, were deprived of their positions and many were thrown into prison.

The national fascist movement, known as *Integralismo,* claims six hundred thousand members, scattered through every one of the twenty-one states. It is too young and loosely organized as yet for its exact program to be defined. Its main points include the following conceptions: God, family and nation are all-important; Brazil has been not a nation, but twenty-one different entities, and these states must now be brought together under a complete authority, capable of taking the initiative for the benefit of all; political parties which divide the country will be opposed by a united Brazilian family; the old capitalism has failed and the new communism destroys the rights of workmen, but the new state, composed of corporations, representing social rather than political groups, will protect all citizens of the Integralist state; the municipalities are to be regarded as family circles, with each class organized to represent its group in the family circle; the various local corporations will combine to make up the national entity. However, a manifesto [2] of its fiery young leader, Plénio Salgado, makes the following points in " a notable document with which the green shirts will dispute the presidency of the republic in the coming elections ":

Integralism believes in the development of a national culture in the intellectual, scientific, philosophical and literary worlds; in social help for parents, for infants and for needy workingmen. It will combat communism by an educational system. The nation will be organized through corporations; municipalities will be the basis, each municipality being organized through representatives of professions and other social groups. The national Congress will be made up of representatives of corporations. The chief of the nation will be elected by Congress.

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[2] *Manifesto-programma do chefe nacional da acção integralista brasileira,* Rio de Janeiro, 1936.

This Integralist state will supervise and orient the national economy with the object of distributing property in the best way to guarantee family life as a necessary and indispensable condition for production. Economic problems will be considered as a whole, and the various regions of the nation will be linked through a system of co-operatives organized to aid production, credit and the consumer. Integralism will develop the sentiments of love, respect and enthusiasm of the highest grade to aid the military power of the nation. Military service will be obligatory. There will be created a sufficient voluntary force patterned after the national guard of 1851 which, while it will not have the war efficiency of the army, should be sufficiently armed to defend the country against the extremists. In foreign relations the object will be the presentation to foreign countries of the moral, cultural, political and economic unity of South America; a complete independence of this continent from foreign influence, with, however, the establishment of cultural relations with all the centers of civilization.

Behind the present confusion in Brazil are certain facts. The new Constitution adopted in 1934 is a long, complicated document subject to many interpretations. While mostly conservative, it has certain modern tendencies toward a totalitarian state which make for confusion in a great sprawling unorganized country. The Department of Labor has become exceedingly important and tends to inject itself into the control of industry and all economic life. What will probably be the largest building in Brazil is the new office for the Department of Labor now being erected. Next to it is the modern Department of Social Insurance, charged with carrying out the provisions of security legislation, which require employers and employees each to deposit three per cent of the wages of workmen for security benefits. The limitations placed on immigration by the new Constitution were so strict that great dissatisfaction is now expressed. Under the quota basis only 29,585 immigrants entered Brazil in 1935, according to the official record. New legislation will no doubt be passed giving an opportunity for states like São Paulo to bring in the laborers who are so greatly needed in agriculture. There is a marked tendency toward national control of industry, and limitations on both foreign labor and capital are developing. The Bureau of Statistics of the ministry has issued figures comparing the industrial census of 1920 with that now under way. A marked growth was evident, varying from 20 per cent in acre territory to 3,225 per cent in the federal district. There were 30,000 industrial companies in 1935, as against 13,305 in 1920. There were 306 electric power companies, with a capacity of 475,632 h.p. in 1920, while in 1934 there were 952, with a capacity of 1,010,546 h.p. While the value in pounds sterling of coffee exports has decreased, that of cotton has increased, in spite of the fact that the world market prices have fluctuated sharply. Although Brazil has no control over world prices, it has been able to neutralize the ill effects of fluctuation by the production of first-grade cotton and the exportation of increasing amounts.

Presidential elections, set for the early part of 1938, will indicate largely whether the nation is to turn definitely toward fascism or democracy. The Supreme Court has recently interpreted the Constitution to mean that President Vargas cannot succeed himself. Friends of democracy devoutly hope that he will not follow an old custom and change the Constitution so as to prolong his term. If he does not he will come to an agreement with the various old line candidates as to which one will oppose the Integralists. One of these candidates is the progressive governor of the state of São Paulo, Dr. Armando de Salles Oliveira. Another is Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, present ambassador to Washington, who won fresh laurels at the Buenos Aires conference. A third is Dr. José Carlos de Macedo Soares, recently resigned minister of foreign relations. All are strong men. If one or all should decide to break away from the old custom of choosing the president through a secret agreement of important leaders, with elections a mere confirmation of this choice, and go out on a popular campaign to appeal to the voters, the action would mark a great step forward.

In spite of this disappointing retrogression toward old-fashioned dictatorship, Brazil faces the future with hope. It is a continent in itself — one of the largest countries of the world. Much of it is still practically undiscovered. The great hinterland offers the same wonderful opportunities for economic and spiritual development that the far west of the United States offered half a century ago. All the possibilities that rich, unoccupied lands possess, when inhabited by a vigorous people, all the opportunities for building great spiritual enterprises, lie in the interior of Brazil today. The imagination is overwhelmed when it begins to reflect on these tremendous opportunities.

Consider, for example, the significance of the ship, completely fitted with all modern medical, educational and manufacturing equipment, that left the yards of Henry Ford's factory near Detroit recently to make its way out to the Atlantic, down into the Southern waters, entering the great Amazon river at Pará and traveling hundreds of miles up this mighty arm of the sea to the new location of a great rubber plantation in the heart of Brazil. With modern means of transportation, modern medical conquest of the tropics, modern feats of engineering and air-cooled homes, many expeditions of this kind will no doubt penetrate the Brazilian hinterland in the next decade or two. At the same time many new problems will arise from the contact of modern industry with the primitive life of the frontier.

The immense reach of territory has made it exceedingly difficult to keep the various parts of the country united. But Brazil has now held together longer than any similarly extended tropical territory in all history. There are those who feel that the late struggle between the prosperous, overwhelmingly rich state of São Paulo, and the central government at Rio, represented a very sharp division between the various sections of the country and that only with the greatest difficulty will a breakup of these widely differing regions be prevented. The great majority of Brazilians, however, seem to feel that their country is definitely headed toward a new advance that will take her to a position of leadership among the nations of the world. Her enormous territory, much of which is uninhabited except by Indians, her large percentage of illiterate people, her daring experiment in race amalgamation, her divisions into northern, central and southern sections, her acute problems in the realms of education, public health and morals, all challenge careful consideration.

XII

BOUNDARY DISPUTES AND ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

BOLIVIA was not one of the countries that had abandoned revolution and suddenly returned to it in 1930. Almost continuously during its independence period this republic has been disturbed by violent upheavals. It is, economically, one of the less developed of the nations of South America. Its trade routes follow mountain passes with an average altitude of twelve to fifteen thousand feet. Railway construction is exceedingly costly and little of it has been undertaken. The most densely populated part of the country is the *altiplano,* separated from the Pacific by Chilean and Peruvian territory. On the eastern side, after a drop of some five to seven thousand feet, there is a very large tropical region where sugar, cotton, rice, cocoa and all kinds of tropical fruits could be easily raised and a large population supported. The prize natural asset of this eastern territory is the rich petroleum deposits. But there is the overwhelming problem of markets and transportation.

The easiest outlet to the sea for this fertile district would be across the Gran Chaco to and via the Paraguay river to the Atlantic. But the only part of the country as yet developed is the high central plateau. La Paz, the loftiest capital in the world, has a population of 150,000, three-fourths of whom are Indians. This proportion of aboriginal population also exists in the country at large, a fact which explains the prevalence of great backwardness and illiteracy. The economic and fiscal status is correspondingly depressed and uncertain. The treasury is largely dependent on taxes imposed on mining, so that a decline of late in prices of tin, copper and silver has thrown the fiscal administration into more than usual disorder. Economic maladjustment accompanied by unstable political life sum up the present situation.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

The liberal party, which had dominated Bolivian politics since 1898, was overthrown by a revolution of July, 1920, headed by Bautista Saavedra. He was succeeded in 1926, after disorders, by his henchman, Hernando Siles. Siles attempted to stimulate economic life by granting, among other concessions, one to a British syndicate, headed by Sir Martin Conway, of fifty million acres of land in the rich tropical region in the southeast. He also committed to the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company the management of postal, telegraph and radio service, cementing the agreement with extravagant guarantees to that company.

The attempt of Siles to increase railway construction met with little success, complicated as it was by many financial deals with foreign concessionaires and national grafters. Middle class merchants, traders, stockraisers and farmers complained bitterly of the increasing taxes and the tremendous foreign loans which it was difficult to justify, since they more and more pledged the resources of the country to foreign bankers. Failure of the Conway and other concessions and the rapid drop in the price of tin, which in 1926 constituted 92 per cent of the country's exports, helped to bring on the revolution of 1930.

Siles had followed the conventional plan of the military dictator — an appeal to the country for support against foreign aggression. During the negotiations as to which of the provinces of Tacna and Arica should be finally held by Chile, Peru or Bolivia, his armies had from time to time clashed with the Paraguayans while his secretaries were making pompous declarations concerning access to the Pacific. When the foreign question died down with the assignment of Tacna to Peru and Arica to Chile in 1929, and when hostilities in the Chaco temporarily ceased, Siles was unable to hold his position, notwithstanding his well organized army under the German military strategist, General Hans Kundt. When it was no longer possible to borrow money to satisfy their backers, President Siles and General Kundt had to flee for their lives. In the elections of January, 1931, a distinguished Bolivian citizen, Dr. Daniel Salamanca, was named president.

This well known statesman was expected to develop a program that would finally lead Bolivia into a new life, but the military spirit was too strong. The war party urged that Bolivia, now deprived of access to the Pacific, could easily gain access to the Atlantic by a swift attack with bombing-planes on Paraguayan forces. The president abandoned his pacifism and led his country into war with all the determination shown by the peace-minded Woodrow Wilson in 1917–18. As long as Bolivia was successful Salamanca was popular. But when the Paraguayans drove step by step across the Chaco and up into Bolivian territory, the president could no longer hold his power. He was compelled to resign November 8, 1934, ten days after the fall of Fort Ballevián. He was succeeded by the vice-president, José L. Tejada Sorzano, who in turn, following the signing of the armistice with Paraguay, was expelled from office by Colonel David Toro in 1935. The army, under Toro's guidance, evidently believed that Dr. Tejada, popular representative of the liberal party, and open to peace negotiations, offered the best means of transition from the unpopular Salamanca regime, with its continuance of a disastrous war, to a peaceful assumption of power controlled by the army.

The price of tin had been slowly increasing. Mines were being worked that had lain idle, and the chance for increased income from mineral exports was on the upgrade. The war measures controlling exchange required that exporters of minerals turn over to the government approximately two-thirds of their receipts in exchange for pesos, the value of which had dropped more than 500 per cent. This income, in addition to fiscal resources, provided funds for commercial imports, government expenditures, military costs and public improvements.

Tejada was beset by too many interests. He honestly attempted to bring expenditures within income and to end the war by accepting the armistice. But a recognition of the temporary nature of his political position made it impossible for him to control either his party or other groups constantly in conflict. The mining companies demanded reduction of onerous tariffs. The provinces were in sore need of federal aid for development. Foreign loans, previously contracted, demanded attention. Returning veterans of the war were forming militant political groups demanding social and political reforms, and all the time the militaristic group in charge of army affairs demanded preference, position, extravagant financial backing, and a final decision in matters of great importance. Early in May a general strike loomed in the capital city of La Paz. The cost of living had risen more than 200 per cent and the old salaries and wages were inadequate to meet subsistence levels.

Labor cannot be said to be organized in Bolivia. But an association of workers with considerable strength has been formed among certain groups. A strike called for May 15 threatened to tie up all the vital services of La Paz. It has been commonly supposed that this move was initiated by the army to afford an excuse for taking over complete control. Dr. Tejada resigned, under pressure, on May 17, and the government was seized by the military. For the first few weeks some attempt at camouflage was made, and the two rival socialist parties, so-called, were permitted representation on the Cabinet or *Junta.* But that situation was definitely cleared within a month, and a military *Junta,* headed by Colonel Toro, became supreme. Certain promises were made to labor. Decrees flowed from the *Junta* like water into a mill-wheel. Wages and salaries were doubled by a governmental decree binding all employers. A ministry of labor was formed; one of the labor leaders was appointed as its head. He lasted only a few months, being replaced by an army man. Funds that came from mineral exportation now flowed, preferentially, through army channels, and the generals, the colonels and the majors filled more and more government offices. The army had reached its goal.

Bautista Saavedra was exiled when he refused to play with the army. He was the only strong opponent in the field. Commerce dwindled to a mere trickle. Importations were restricted and prohibited to such an extent that many commercial houses practically ceased to do business. Customs duties rose more than 200 per cent. In December, 1936, the Bolivian peso was worth less than one-tenth of its 1932 value.

The immediate future of Bolivia looks black enough, and not a few defeatists are promoting the parceling out of the country among Argentina, Chile and Peru. But a glimpse at the resources of the nation, the third largest in South America, and the determined attitude of a small group of idealistic youth make one hope that Bolivia will struggle out of the present miry tangle into her rightful place among her neighbors. One of her most pressing problems is that of population. Laborers willing to work her mines and plantations are woefully few. The tin quota assigned to Bolivia by the Tin Pool has been reduced by 15 per cent because she has not been able to meet the former quota requirements! To solve this problem the government ordered the conscription of all men under fifty years of age, who were not employed or who had not fulfilled their military obligations, for work in mines and on road-building. A common sight in the subsequent months was that of armed patrols herding groups of civilians picked up in the streets of the cities to work in the mines. Indians used to the high elevations cannot be counted on for working mines and plantations. They prefer their own small patches of ground and small herds of sheep and llamas, and wholeheartedly distrust their white overlords. The ex-soldiers among them help to reinforce that attitude, remembering as they do their disastrous experiences in the heat and slime and bloody welter of the Chaco under the orders of white officers.

There are some who fear a possible unification of Indian tribes and groups, but education has not produced Indian leaders of sufficient caliber to bring about such a combination.

The political situation in Paraguay during the war remained unchanged. The country was united under President Eusebio Ayala, and the military forces, because of their strong morale and their familiarity with the Chaco swamps, drove the numerically superior Bolivian forces back into their own territory. When the war closed, however, this unity was soon dissipated. Military elements under the leadership of the popular hero, Colonel Rafael Franco, ousted President Ayala, February 17, 1936, on the ground that the latter was betraying the victorious army by conceding too easy terms to the enemy. He then set up a kind of fascist regime, identifying " the liberating revolution with the state " and prohibiting " all activities of a political character which do not emanate explicitly from the state." A national labor department was created " to deal with relations or conflicts between labor and capital." It is evident that post-war adjustments in Paraguay will bring much strain and strife.

THE ETERNAL QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES

We here approach again that fundamental question of boundaries which has been the cause of most of the international difficulties in South America. Since another boundary question between Colombia and Peru was to arise very soon, it is well to pause for a consideration of this ever recurring problem.

A little geography is the first essential to an understanding of the situation. Civilized life in South America has been confined largely to the ocean fringes. On the Pacific the lofty Andes hug the coast the whole length of the continent. The capitals and major life of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are either in the high altitudes near the Pacific or right on the edge of the sea. When one turns from these high regions toward the east, he descends thousands of feet into a jungle country which it is practically impossible to traverse by ordinary means of transportation — a favorite region for scientific expeditions and amateur notoriety hunters.

On the Atlantic side of the continent, likewise, civilized life is on or near the seashore, and in the interior are the same jungles which form the back yards of the various west coast countries. Where do these swampy jungle back yards, unfit for any but wild Indians, meet? The Spanish and Portuguese colonists had so much land they did not feel the necessity for establishing definite boundaries between this colony and that. And so it has been with the sparsely settled republics. But with the modern search for petroleum, for rubber, for mahogany, with colonization schemes (the greatest of all rackets) and the development of the airplane and the radio, the South American nations have become increasingly interested in pushing their individual boundaries just as far as possible.

"The struggle between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco jungle reminds me of two bald-headed men fighting over a comb," said a witty Frenchman. But South American countries are, of course, only imitating France, England, the United

States and other imperialist nations that have been struggling to control the deserts and jungles of North Africa, Mesopotamia and Nicaragua.

It was only when petroleum concessions and colonizing privileges were granted to American and British corporations and extensive loans were made by the bankers of those countries to Bolivia that the Chaco question became acute. Bolivia spent large sums in England and the United States for bombing-planes and other war material and engaged General Kundt, of the German army, to modernize the Bolivian war machine. The expulsion of Dictator Siles and General Kundt in 1930 left the military elements well intrenched. In the summer of 1932 an undeclared war was launched in the Chaco for which it seems impossible to fix the blame, since squads of Bolivian and Paraguayan soldiers were constantly colliding in the undefined territory. At the close of the year General Kundt was recalled from Germany to carry out the plans he had made earlier for a drive to the Paraguay river.

Bolivia has had many schemes for securing access to the Atlantic. One general approach was through the Amazon — a plan developed when the Madeira-Mamoré railroad was built. This railroad, after the expenditure of huge sums of money and many lives, proved a failure and is now practically overgrown by tropical forests. The next route was by way of the Paraguay river. Brazil gave to Bolivia a port on the Paraguay, Puerto Suárez, located near Corumbá, Brazil. Bolivia claimed this arrangement to be unsatisfactory and therefore directed her efforts toward control of the heart of the Chaco.

The Chaco has an area of 115,000 square miles, nearly twice that of Paraguay proper, which has 65,000 square miles. The northern section is largely covered with tropical forest, waterless in the dry season and flooded during rains which make it practically impassable. The central and western sections are grassy prairies with occasional palm trees; these, and grass for stockraising, are the principal products of the region, although there are some fairly good agricultural lands near the Paraguay river.

The Chaco is very sparsely settled but is not so barren as is ordinarily supposed. Paraguay has opened up a considerable part of it. The Argentine firm of Carlos Casada has a concession of more than four million hectares extending from Puerto Casada, with a population of about three thousand and a capital investment estimated at one and a half million dollars. The concession contains two hundred kilometers of railway and eighty thousand head of cattle, with a tanning factory, church, schools, hospital and hotel. North of this, at Puerto Sastre, another Argentine company has a property, with capital of two million dollars, for producing tannin and for stock-breeding. The immense savannah of the interior has been parceled out by the Paraguayan government, but the absence of communications and water have until recently constituted obstacles to colonization. The central Chaco, once it is brought nearer to markets and to civilization, will support a much larger population.

Paraguay is evidently more content with her geographical position than is Bolivia. Asunción is on the Paraguay river, a part of the Plata system directly connected with the Atlantic, a thousand miles from Buenos Aires. Paraguay has developed the part of the Chaco nearest her by building a railroad, opening developments for quebracho and cattle ranches, and giving extensive concessions to the Mennonites, who have developed a large colony there.

As has been said, the need felt by Bolivia for an outlet through the Paraguay river to the Atlantic was intensified when Chile and Peru in 1929 settled the old Tacna and Arica question by dividing the two provinces between themselves and leaving Bolivia without access to the Pacific, such as she had before her war with Chile. Recent economic developments originating overseas have further intensified the need. In 1922 high financing began with the floating of a loan of $33,000,000 by an American banking syndicate, the nation pledging as security much of its national revenue. By 1926 the Standard Oil Company had secured control of 3,500,000 hectares of land in the Bolivian lowlands near the Chaco. The deposits are among the richest in the world and extensive refining plants have been installed for their exploitation.

The requirements of the 1922 loan were so exorbitant that in 1926, out of the country's total revenues of $14,943,000, 65 per cent was pledged to the service of the loan. In 1926 an additional loan of $9,088,200 was secured from Vickers-Armstrong for purchase of war material in England, the annual cost of carrying this loan being $1,440,000. In spite of all this, when it seemed quite evident that Bolivia was practically bankrupt, Dillon, Read and Company of New York floated another loan in 1928 for $23,000,000. Subsequently, some years after Bolivia had suspended service charges on these loans, she seemed still to be able to buy all the munitions and hire all the foreign fighting men she needed.

South American newspapers insisted that the petroleum question was at the bottom of this undeclared war. There was a furor in the Argentine Congress because of the oil question, the debates being reminiscent of ours in the days of the Teapot Dome and Mexican intervention exposures. The leading socialist deputy, Nicolás Repetto, said in a sensational address on September 10, 1932, that the petroleum situation in Argentina illustrated the evil effects that false legislation might bring to the entire Southern continent, as it has done already in certain countries:

> This subject of filling-stations is a simple incident in the war being fought for several years in our country, in which unfortunately we see triumphant certain factors conspiring against our national interest. No one can fail to recognize that the conflict now taking place between these two neighboring nations on our northern borders is a conflict closely connected with this question. The sad thing is that, notwithstanding many warnings, this nefarious influence has been allowed to insinuate itself into the life of our northern provinces and make possible grave difficulties for Argentina and for all South America.[1]

The *New York Times,* in a dispatch of December 24, 1932, said:

> Petroleum is becoming more and more important a factor in Bolivia's distrust of Argentina's impartiality. Bolivia has been cool toward Argentina ever since the latter refused to permit the construction of a pipe line into Argentine territory, thereby closing down production in the Santa Cruz fields. If Bolivia gets a port on the upper Paraguay river she can land petroleum in Buenos Aires cheaper than Argentina can bring her own petroleum from Comodore and Rivadavia.

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[1] *Las Ultimas noticias,* Buenos Aires, Sept. 11, 1932.

The same publication reported on September 16, 1934, that the Argentine Congress, after hearing sensational charges against the Standard Oil Company, had ordered the closing of that corporation's broadcasting station near the Bolivian border because its alleged activities in connection with the Chaco War were suspicious and involved the neutrality of Argentina. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, on January 25, 1933, gave a statement to Secretary of State Stimson denying that they were backing Bolivia in this struggle:

> There is no vestige of truth in rumors and press statements that have been circulated to the effect that interests of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) are supporting the republic of Bolivia financially and materially in the Chaco dispute with the republic of Paraguay.

The company later sent the same kind of statement to the League of Nations.

The fact that Bolivian soldiers brought as prisoners into Asunción had U. S. A. army buttons on their uniforms gave rise to the belief on the part of the populace that the United States government might be behind Bolivia's struggle for the Chaco. An American military attaché, after visiting the Chaco front, reported that both sides were using the most modern military equipment — tanks, airplanes and machine guns. The United States, as well as England, France and Germany, furnished these engines of war. Since both belligerents were bankrupt, neither being able openly to float a foreign loan, it was difficult for the public to understand who paid the bills. But the war went on, thanks to the supplies which munitions factories and steamship lines furnished and transported to both armies!

Paraguay and Bolivia are among the most backward of the Latin-American countries in education and in economic and social development; they are sorely in need of roads, schools and public health work. Both recognized that however long the war might continue it would most probably end in the drawing of a boundary line here or there in the wild, unsettled Chaco country, a line which would have to be defended by costly military force on the part of both these poor, exhausted countries.

A RESUMÉ OF THE CHACO DISPUTE

In the early days of independence Paraguay, isolated under Francia, had complete control of the Chaco. Bolivia, however, challenged her supremacy about the middle of the century and various attempts were made in 1879, 1887 and 1894 to settle the question. In 1907 the two countries agreed to submit to the decision of the president of Argentina the controversy as to the ownership of about fifty thousand square miles in this region. The president, however, declined to arbitrate the case. In 1913 both parties agreed not to advance beyond certain outposts defined in the agreement of 1907, but Paraguay aroused Bolivian suspicion by grants to Argentine and to Mennonite colonists about the same time that the desires of Bolivia were inflamed by the discovery of oil within her borders but near the Chaco.

Both Paraguay and Bolivia, in recent years, have built forts in the disputed territory and from time to time the rival forces clashed. A violent encounter took place in December, 1928, while the Pan-American conference on arbitration was meeting in Washington. The conference, as well as the League of Nations, offered its good offices; the latter withdrew, under pressure, in favor of the conference, which thereupon appointed a neutral commission that worked on the question for some three years. But because of rivalries and friction within the peace organizations, no progress was made and the commission finally gave up the job as hopeless.

With the disbanding of the neutral commission at Washington, the South American group of neighbors — Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru — began peace negotiations. It looked as if they might succeed, but they too finally had to admit failure, since the war had proceeded too far and near neighbors had become too involved with Argentine interests in Paraguay and Chilean interests in Bolivia to be accepted as impartial arbitrators. It was only then that the United States agreed to the proposal that the League of Nations undertake to settle the quarrel between two of its member states.

A commission of the league, consisting of five distinguished members, was appointed and made its way to the Chaco in the fall of 1933. It visited both Paraguay and Bolivia and also certain of the battlegrounds, returning to Montevideo during the sessions of the seventh Pan-American conference — whereupon was witnessed the remarkable scene of representatives of the League of Nations being welcomed by members of a Pan-American conference. If the Chaco War was not settled, at least one of the outstanding difficulties in the way of world peace — rivalry between the Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations — was thus largely eliminated. The two organizations were able to arrange an armistice and it was supposed, when the Montevideo conference adjourned, that final peace was assured. But the war had stirred up too much nationalist feeling in both countries, the jingoists and the munitions agents had secured too much of a hold. Soon after the conference delegates had returned to their homes the belligerents were fighting again.

The commission of the League of Nations proposed a draft treaty which would have put the whole matter on the way to arbitration, and was as fair a suggestion as could have been made; but the idea was rejected by both parties, each of which claimed that it gave too much to the other. The commission returned to Geneva and made its final report, entitled "The Dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, Report of the Chaco Commission" (dated Geneva, May 11, 1934), a document which is worthy of a place beside the Lytton report.

The report called attention, in the first place, to the fact that the disputants when left to themselves could not find agreement; that to inquire into the responsibility for the war as the disputants desired would bring nothing but bad feeling; that peace was the essential thing and should be the main object of conference. Each party was hoping for a military advance and, living on this hope from day to day, was postponing agreement to arbitrate. The document further pointed out the peculiar situation that the farther Bolivia's drive advanced toward the Paraguay river the weaker became her military position because of the increased distance from her base of supplies across the Chaco. The same applied to Paraguay.

The struggle in the Chaco was singularly pitiless and horrible. The soldiers fought in the bush, far from centers of population, and in an exceedingly trying climate. The sick and wounded frequently received inadequate attention, owing to the difficulty of improvising, with the resources limited by distance from the base of supplies and the inaccessible terrain, a medical service proportionate to the large needs. Moreover, behind the lines, while the struggle went on, both countries grew poorer and their future seemed darker and darker. The young men were at the front; the universities and many of the schools and cultural agencies were closed. When it is remembered how deeply the two nations stood in need of all the forces represented by this younger generation — part of which has now been wiped out — it is easily seen that the Chaco War represented a veritable catastrophe in the advance of civilization in the areas concerned. The soldiers coming home from the Chaco introduced malaria into centers hitherto immune; other and more serious diseases were spread beyond the frontiers of the two countries, and fears mounted lest, despite the precautions taken by the neighboring states, the war itself should spread.

To arrest further catastrophe the league commission proposed combined and harmonious action by all the forces of peace instead of the un-co-ordinated variety of intervention by many different agencies. If the forces for peace were consolidated, the commission urged, there would no longer be a doorway through which the contending countries could leave one peace parley to attend another, experimenting with a fresh formula whenever the negotiations took an unsatisfactory turn.

But each of the belligerents refused to accept the league commission's proposal, and the next move was to attempt to secure an embargo on arms. The United States, Great Britain and certain small nations agreed to this move, but Italy, Japan and other arms-manufacturing countries refused. On July 30, 1934, the Pan American Union, at the urgent request of President Alfonso López of Colombia, who had led his country in settling the Leticia dispute through the League of Nations, agreed to make a fresh effort to settle the Chaco question. The union soon threw up its hands in despair and the war continued.

On November 24 of the same year the League of Nations adopted a report which demanded settlement of the dispute by arbitration. The details of this settlement were considered unfair by Paraguay and she rejected the plan, but Bolivia accepted. The league accordingly decided to begin applying sanctions and the first step was an arms embargo on Paraguay, who threatened to leave the league. But her South American neighbors and the United States refused to agree to this embargo on the little country which, with one-third of the population of its enemy, had gradually driven back the foe clear across the Chaco desert and was now actually occupying Bolivian territory. Again Argentina and Chile undertook negotiations which finally brought about the signing of an armistice, June 12, 1935, after the belligerents had sent their delegates to a peace conference in Buenos Aires at which were represented also Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Uruguay and the United States. The armies demobilized, other guarantees against a renewal of hostilities were carried out, and on October 28, 1935, the conference formally declared the war terminated. A pact was signed on January 21, 1936, providing for the release of prisoners of war and the resumption of diplomatic relations. But difficult territorial issues were left to the conference of neutrals meeting in Buenos Aires. Bolivia tempered none of her claims to the Chaco region, which remained in Paraguayan hands. The agreement stated that if the territorial question of the Chaco cannot be settled through the conference of neutrals composed of representatives of the six countries named above and of the two belligerents, it is to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague for final decision.

Thus, what both Washington and Geneva had failed for years to do, the South American nations accomplished themselves — although they enjoyed the full co-operation of both the league and the secretary of state of the Northern republic. In fact, the document signed was along the lines suggested by the league commission in 1934.

Several years ago some of us pointed out the likelihood of serious conflicts in America unless the peace machinery of this continent and Europe were co-ordinated. Undoubtedly, if at the beginning of the Chaco dispute in 1929 there had been unanimous action by all peace agencies instead of years of bidding for the honor of settling a quarrel, the dispute would not have grown into one of the most serious conflicts on the American continent. It is also probable that the feud which had lain quiet for so long would not have reawakened if the growing economic development of the interior had not roused the cupidity of foreign concessionaires who were willing to back the claims of the country in which they had interests. In January, 1936, President Roosevelt invited the twenty Latin-American republics to a Pan-American peace conference, which would seek to advance " the course of permanent peace on the western continent." The cordial response of various governments to the invitation gives hope to the friends of Latin America that another milestone may soon be reached on the path to peace and ordered progress. The overthrow of the Ayala government in Asunción threatened to stop the peace negotiations with Bolivia in Buenos Aires and also make impossible the conference proposed by President Roosevelt. But the Franco government assured Washington of its peaceful intentions and of its acceptance of the invitation. Washington and the South American nations then recognized the Franco government, and the sessions of the smaller conference on the Chaco, as well as the preparations for the larger one for all America, proceeded. But when the inter-American conference assembled at Buenos Aires it found the Chaco peace negotiators in a deadlock. In order to break it, the conference sent a special representative in an airplane to Asunción to plead with the Paraguayan minister of foreign relations to return in the same plane to speak to the closing session of the continental gathering. He could do no less than yield. So the Chaco peace conference got off to a fresh start; but in February of 1937 its members, consisting of one representative of each of the six neutral countries, were still trying to find the formula that would satisfy both Bolivia and Paraguay, and avoid sending the question to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The whole interstate trade of southern South America is involved in the settlement of the transportation question around and through the Chaco. The rich Oriente of Bolivia, with its great potentialities in agriculture and in petroleum, must find an outlet by rail or by pipe line, or by both, either directly across the Chaco; or north to the Brazilian frontier, to the new railway to São Paulo; or southeast to Argentina. South American neighbors as well as the United States and Great Britain have important stakes in the problem. The Pan-American conference at Montevideo approved the calling of another conference to consider the questions involved in the economic relations of Bolivia and Paraguay and their five neighbors, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Peru. Desert or jungle land near the heart of every continent has lain idle until the development of industrial life in neighboring territories has brought it into prominence. South America has now come to the place where it is not satisfied that all its trade should be carried on with overseas nations. As it looks to its interior it finds that the Chaco Boreal is, if not for itself, at least for its relations to the expansion of its growing neighbors, an important part of the Southern continent.

LETICIA

For a while in 1932 it looked as though northern South America might develop a second war, based more or less on the same struggle over boundaries and international transportation as was the Chaco dispute. Leticia is an isolated hamlet in a great stretch of jungle where Colombia, Peru and Ecuador converge. The airplane and other instruments of modern life began a few years ago to penetrate this hitherto unknown region, and the modern spirit of commerce seized the inhabitants. A few dozen Peruvians in a sudden attack took the town from even fewer Colombians, and the matter suddenly became an international incident. For Leticia is on the Amazon river. And it is on the Amazon that every trader on the eastern slopes of the Andes depends to carry his goods down to the markets on the Atlantic. Also behind the Leticia affair was the familiar story of dictators, loans and ambitions.

The destinies of Peru, as has been mentioned, were at this time in the hands of Sánchez Cerro, whose revolution had overthrown Leguía. When, therefore, a band of Peruvian adventurers captured the little Colombian town which was within territory recently claimed by Peru, Sánchez Cerro endeavored to make of the incident a patriotic issue. He appealed to his opponents to unite in defense of the national interests. The government began to strengthen the army, to raise funds for the purchase of fifteen bombing-planes, and to concentrate forces near Leticia.

Simultaneously, the Colombian government, under President Olaya Herrera, though it was beginning to reap the harvest of difficulties it had sown by its own reckless borrowing, seemed not averse to using the same rallying cry of patriotism to head off the opposition party. Bristling with righteous indignation, it plunged into preparations for war. In spite of its already overwhelming borrowings it floated an internal loan of ten million dollars and bought a considerable number of bombing-planes which it put in charge of German and American aviators. It bought from the United States several merchant ships, equipped them with cannon, and dispatched them around the Caribbean to the Amazon and up that river twenty-one hundred miles, to meet the Peruvian forces which were concentrating to protect their fellow nationals in Leticia. Peru counted particularly on her air force, organized by an American naval mission several years earlier and augmented, of course, by as much new equipment as she could buy from the United States.

Peace machinery fortunately began work much more directly in the Leticia question than in the case of the Chaco dispute. Secretary of State Stimson agreed that the League of Nations should appoint a commission to consider this quarrel. His was a historic decision, this being the first time that the United States had agreed that the league had a right to function in settling disputes among its members on the American continent. The commission, representing not neutrals but the two countries involved, met at Rio de Janeiro. After some six months of deliberation it finally agreed, in 1934, to arbitrate the whole question — an important triumph both for the principle of arbitration and for the working together of the American peace forces with the League of Nations. While the question was being arbitrated the league appointed Colombian military forces as its agents to keep order in the disputed zone. In the Chaco settlement the neutral military commission was composed of soldiers from various neighbor nations under the command of an Argentine officer. Thus slowly and painfully South America is assuming the burden of settling her own problems, although not refusing the co-operation of Geneva and Washington.

THE PROMPTERS OF WAR

Numerous other elements which help to explain the recent revolutions and international wars in South America must remain unmentioned for lack of space, but reference must be made to the activities of the arms manufacturers as an important factor in augmenting these difficulties. The Nye committee of the United States Senate, through its investigations in 1934 and 1935, made the facts concerning these activities much clearer than they already were.

The investigation not only brought to light some of the most important forces that kept the war between Paraguay and Bolivia going, and the reasons why Colombia and Peru so quickly began arming over the little jungle town of Leticia; it also illuminated the causes of the failure of the Pan-American conference at Santiago in 1923, the sudden decision of Argentina to enlarge her navy in 1924, the prolonged delays in the arbitration of the Tacna and Arica dispute and the difficulties encountered by President-elect Hoover in his "good-will" tour in 1928 (made on a battleship), and revealed the real purposes of the naval missions sent by the United States to Brazil in 1922 and to Peru in 1924.[2] It showed how United States naval officers were connected with the private manufacturers of munitions and how our consuls, ambassadors and Cabinet ministers aided the business. Even President Coolidge and President Hoover were requested — with what success is not clear — to help swing orders for munitions.

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[2] A definite procedure was followed in the selling of American submarines to Leguía's government. First a U. S. admiral would tell the Peruvian ambassador that Chile was buying British submarines (probably a groundless rumor). Next Peru would ask Washington for a naval mission, under conditions shown by the following testimony during the Nye committee investigations (Senate hearings, p. 109):

> *Senator Clark.* Is it a fact that the secretary of the navy stated at the time Congress passed the act to authorize the naval mission to various South American countries that one of the purposes of it was to sell armaments and to induce them to install American equipment?
>
> *Mr. Spear.* . . . That was a known fact.
>
> *Mr. Henry R. Carse* (president of Electric Boat Company). The government paid the expenses of the missions, the salaries of the men.
>
> *Senator Clark.* As a matter of fact, they drew salaries from the American government at the same time, and in the case of Peru they were paid $8,000 a year apiece while they were down there?
>
> *Mr. Carse.* Something of that nature. I do not know.

Correspondence subpoenaed by the Nye committee reveals that agents of the Electric Boat corporation,[3] the Curtiss-Wright Airplanes,[4] the American Armament Corporation[5] and other North American munitions firms, have been romping all over South America for years, with the co-operation of United States naval missions and diplomatic officials, offering their help to South American governments for defense against their neighbors — using the fact that to the said neighbors arms had already been sold, to scare the new client into preparation for defense. Prices were admittedly high in order to allow bribes for government officials.

The part of the Nye testimony most humiliating to a North American is that concerning the role of our government officials as assistants to the arms makers.[6] Our Ambassador Morgan was at Rio during the time our government had a naval mission in Brazil, and he is reported to have been in consultation for some three months with the agent of the Electric Boat Company concerning orders for submarines by Brazil, and to have intimated that the American naval mission would be consulted before further orders were given. (I happened to be in Brazil when the press reported an order of six submarines from the Electric Boat Company.)

In connection with the American naval mission to Peru during the Leguía regime, both United States and Peruvian officials were associated in many ways with the Electric Boat Company to prepare the Peruvian navy for meeting Chile, should those nations go to war in the excitement over Tacna and Arica. Admiral Woodward was requested to see President Coolidge to help arrange a twelve million dollar loan for Peru so that submarines could be purchased.[7]

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[3] *Hearings Before the Special Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry* (U. S. Senate, Res. 19), exhibit 56, p. 348; *ibid.*, exhibit 41, p. 340.

[4] *Ibid.*, exhibit 348, p. 931; exhibit 360, p. 939; exhibit 364, p. 942.

[5] For the astonishing story of this company see part 3 of the inquiry.

[6] *Ibid.*, part 4, exhibit 413; also pp. 9, 62, 170.

[7] *Ibid.*, exhibit 67.

American naval men were to aid in a scheme to assure the appointment of a Peruvian naval commander as a delegate to the disarmament conference, where he would advocate " no quotas in submarines." Evidence was introduced which disclosed many intimate financial and other relations between the boat company and the naval officials, including the gift of a paid passage to Europe for the wife of the head of the naval mission to Peru, and another " gift " of forty thousand dollars to Juan Leguía, the son of the president.[8] This is the same Juan Leguía who, as the Senate committee investigating foreign loans in 1932 proved, received from New York bankers the sum of $415,000 for using his influence to help them in floating a loan.[9]

The Leticia flare-up attracted swarms of foreign munitions salesmen to both Colombia and Peru. While the peace conference between the two countries, under the auspices of the League of Nations, was in session at Rio de Janeiro in 1933, the American Armament company continued to push its sales — since its agent believed that " war was inevitable " and " a big time was expected by all." He stated that " we have chosen Colombia because they have money and Peru has very little." The Curtiss-Wright agents were doing the same. One agent of that firm wrote another in Lima:

> While in Peru, and as soon as convenient, give me a frank picture of the Peruvian situation, and do what you can in closing additional business there. For your confidential information, their friends to the extreme north [Colombia] are still purchasing heavily. You might use this in your official conversations, but in a very careful and diplomatic manner.

Agents of armament firms were to be found wherever there was any trouble. In May, 1933, when a revolution appeared imminent in Uruguay, an agent of the Curtiss-Wright company wrote to another member of the staff advising him to take a trip to Montevideo to try to sell some war equipment. It was also a good time for a trip to Paraguay, he wrote, but the work would have to be done very quietly there, for " the Bolivian government would naturally raise 'merry hell' if they believed we were dealing with their enemies."[10]

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[8] *Ibid.*, exhibits 31, 32, 36.

[9] *Hearings Before the Committee on Finance* (U. S. Senate, S. Res. 19), part 3, pp. 1287–89.

South American countries have been persuaded that almost any military plan can be carried out if sufficient airplanes are available. According to reliable reports, Bolivia was convinced that within three to six weeks after she began her war with Paraguay, by means of airplanes she would have her enemy under control. The Curtiss-Wright Corporation, therefore, has been in the armament business up to its neck. Testimony by its president showed that the corporation has a close interlocking relationship with the du Ponts, Douglas Aircraft Company and General Motors. Agents of the Curtiss-Wright company were kind enough to secure American military pilots for Bolivia. As for Colombia, an agent, formerly an officer in the United States navy, took entire charge of defense of harbors and the rebuilding of the Colombian air force.[11] On one boat, on April 12, 1934, twenty-four American pilots and twenty mechanics left New York for Colombia, in spite of the strong protest of the United States Department of State. Many of the methods by which the state department was defeated in its attempts to carry out the arms embargo against Bolivia and Paraguay were revealed in the testimony.

HOW AMERICAN AND FOREIGN FIRMS WORK TOGETHER

While there has often been bitter rivalry among the arms salesmen of different countries, the great companies have not hesitated to get together when they could thus induce rival countries to buy more arms. A notable case was again that of Chile and Peru. It will be recalled that the United States was asked to arbitrate the long-standing dispute between Chile and Peru over the provinces of Tacna and Arica, and that President Coolidge sent General Pershing to direct a plebiscite in these provinces, but the effort failed completely. While peace negotiations were going on, the Electric Boat Company, which was selling its products to Peru (where the United States had a naval mission), was approached about selling ships to Chile. Fearing the effect on Peru of this prospective contract, the boat company passed the Chilean business on to Vickers of England, with which company they had a trade agreement.[12] The transaction thus camouflaged, it was presumed everybody could be happy! The state department could promote peace; the navy department and the American firm could help Peru prepare for war; and our British associates could make profits by preparing Chile for the fight![13]

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[10] Senate munitions hearings, exhibit 364, p. 942.

[11] *Ibid.*, part 2.

At scarcely any time during their period of independence have South American countries been so at variance among themselves as during the last ten or twelve years. The Senate investigations of international loans revealed part of the reason for the difficulties. The munitions investigations make still clearer the causes.

DICTATORS, CAPITALISTS AND SOCIALISTS

These chapters have traced in outline South America's recent return to revolution as a means of political renovation — a return aided both by a combination of foreign and national dictators and by the growing forces of reform. We have glanced rapidly at the violent upheavals since 1930 in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina and Brazil, and have noted the influence of industrialism in fomenting the outbreaks of international conflict among the constituent countries of half a hemisphere. In Peru it was seen that the radical and well organized movement has embarked on a campaign which, after much struggle, promises a thorough reorganization of that country. As to Chile, it has been revealed that while radical elements are present, so far they have found no sufficient leadership. Argentina seems committed to the present capitalistic order, the revolution having made no social gains and leaving the country with a government determined to treat with considerable vigor any opposition. Brazil's new Constitution takes a few hesitant steps forward in political and social reform, but maintains its usual conservative attitude as expressed in its national motto, "Order and Progress." Bolivia and Paraguay have been sobered by the Chaco War and their youth have been thinking new thoughts, but whatever social upheaval is to come must await the breakdown of the military machine.

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[12] *Ibid.*, exhibit 68.

[13] Readers who do not have time to study the huge documentary evidence presented in the reports of the Senate hearings can find several brief summaries like "The Arms Inquiry, A Summary," by Paul Hutchinson, from *The Christian Century; The Munitions Industry, An Analysis,* Foreign Policy Association, Vol. X, no. 20.

The remaining four countries — Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Uruguay — have not been so specifically treated either because — aside from limitations of space — they have had no violent political eruptions, or because they have shown no marked social upheavals. Venezuela remained until the close of 1935 the one classic example of the old type of government by a *caudillo,* General Juan Vicente Gómez, who exercised autocratic power and permitted no new ideas. Since he was wise enough not to fall into the hands of foreign bankers, even the depression did not give his enemies the necessary power to depose him. With his death from old age on December 17, 1935, it seemed that the country would be plunged once more into bloody strife for the presidency. Fortunately a benevolently firm hand was found in the newly elected general, who seems to have found the road between the Scylla of ruthlessness and the Charybdis of open anarchy. Large groups of the best citizenship who have lived in exile for many years have returned to help rebuild their *patria,* including the distinguished assistant director of the Pan American Union, Dr. E. Gil Borgas, now minister of foreign affairs.

A new Constitution adopted July 16, 1936, makes radical changes in guarantees to citizens, shortens the presidential term from seven to five years, makes Cabinet members liable for illegal acts and authorizes levying of export taxes. Municipalities are now charged with waging anti-illiteracy campaigns, in accordance with federal laws. Foreign-born children of naturalized Venezuelans and native Spaniards or Ibero-Americans may be naturalized upon request. Liberty of thought is guaranteed but the denunciation of communism is sweeping, those advocating or practicing the doctrine to be considered traitors to the country and punished.

While Colombia was one of the countries most deeply involved in the mad race for foreign loans, it accomplished a mild change of program by election rather than by revolution, calling to the presidency its ambassador at Washington, Dr. Enrique Olaya Herrera; in other words, the liberal group displaced the old conservative party. In 1934 Dr. Alfonso López, an outstanding liberal, was elected chief magistrate and is working hard to meet demands for a more democratic social order and to extricate his country from the financial bankruptcy resulting from its tremendous over-borrowing. Grave labor and land problems are facing the government and demand radical action.

On August 1, 1936, Colombia adopted a number of important amendments to her Constitution. Some of these provide the following: Native Hispanic Americans and Brazilians who, with the authorization of the government, ask to be registered as Colombians in the place where they have settled, are considered Colombian citizens by adoption. Aliens still enjoy the same guarantees and civil rights as Colombians, although in special circumstances legislation may be passed abridging or annulling the former's exercise of certain civil rights. Ownership of property is a social function which implies obligations, and social interest and public utility are reasons for expropriating property. The government has the power to intervene by legislation in the operations of industries or public and private enterprises in order to balance production, distribution and consumption of wealth, or to give the worker the just protection to which he is entitled.

Education was formerly dealt with, in article 41, as follows: " Public education will be organized and directed in harmony with the Catholic religion. Primary instruction provided with public funds shall be free and non-obligatory." In the 1936 amendments, article 14 guarantees liberty of teaching, and says: " The state shall have, nevertheless, supreme oversight over and care for teaching institutions, public and private, in order to carry out social cultural purposes and provide for the best intellectual, moral and physical development of students. Primary education shall be free in state schools, and obligatory to the extent required by law."

Three articles in the original Constitution — 39, 40 and 56 — dealing with liberty of conscience and relations between church and state have been combined in article 13 of the amendments. The major change is the new stipulation that concordats between the government and the Holy See are subject to the approval of Congress. Article 20 guarantees the right to strike, except in public services. Article 34 repeals outright articles 38, 53 and 55, dealing with the Roman Catholic church and its relations with the state.

Ecuador has been in continuous political turmoil for many years, but in spite of promises of reforms by various presidents, and the active educational campaign carried on by a small group of radicals, no strong social movement has yet appeared. A new Constitution, adopted in 1932, showed certain socializing influences, as in granting the vote to women and in providing for representation in the national Congress of certain social groups such as professionals, laborers and farmers. Before taking office on September 1, 1934, the newly elected president, José M. Velasco Ibarra, made a friendly visit to various South American capitals, where he conferred with several chief magistrates and promised to support all efforts to form a continental confederation which might unite Latin-American countries, especially by means of trade without tariff barriers.

President Ibarra initiated reforms in education by inviting missions from Colombia and exiled German scholars. Ecuador's financial condition has been under the treatment of North American economic doctors, including the famous Professor W. R. Kemmerer, for many years, apparently without improving very much. The blight on the cacao tree, which has severely damaged the source of most of the country's wealth, has combined with the foreign financiers to keep the people poor. Fortunately, Ecuador escaped the recent craze for foreign loans that swept over the continent, and by 1934 the economic and political condition of the country had registered a distinct improvement. Ibarra was ousted by the army in August, 1935, to be succeeded in the presidency by Antonio Pons. Within a month, however, the latter was superseded by Federico Páez, who decided upon a revision of the Constitution.

Paraguay, like Ecuador, did not engage in any recent foreign borrowing. She has practically no foreign debt — or at least did not have at the beginning of the war with Bolivia.

The pride of military victory which sustained the people in terrific sacrifices spelled for the future much suffering and multiplied problems of reconstruction in national finances, in public works, in health, in education and in morals. President Ayala discussed with the author during a visit to Asunción in June, 1935, the engaging of a number of foreign experts in agriculture, commerce and education, and the encouragement of large colonial enterprises from Europe and Japan. But the disturbed political conditions which substituted Colonel Rafael Franco for President Ayala have changed the whole outlook of the country.

It is difficult to judge how far the decree of May 5, 1936, will be carried out, which authorizes the government to expropriate up to five million acres of land not under cultivation, pay for it with a special bond issue, divide it into plots of twenty-five to two hundred and fifty acres and sell it on easy terms to landless farmers. The new law states that the revolution does not accept either the Roman law concept of the *jus abutendi,* the right to do exactly as one likes with property, or that of " agrarian collectivism of communism which does away with private property in favor of the state, but gives a new meaning to property rights by recognizing that property has a social function to perform and that the land belongs to the person who works it."

There is much talk of counter-revolution and it is evident that Paraguay up to the present is more interested in a favorable settlement of the Chaco question than in any fundamental social reform.

Uruguay, the smallest country in South America, has made such a unique record as a laboratory for social and political reform that it must be reserved for special study in the next chapter, along with the Mexican revolution, the growth of communism, and other challenging situations in Latin America's recent return to revolution.

Although Hispanic Americans are particularly opposed to race prejudice, the Hitler movement is entering South America through the German embassies, legations, consulates and social clubs. Ultra-nationalistic dailies are now published which advocate reactionary government, point out the dangers of liberalism and preach hatred of foreigners. Most of the South American countries are in a political condition which gives a certain encouragement to fascism, and the southern and eastern lands, where democracy is furthest advanced, were in 1936 under the rule of strong-arm presidents.

But it would be a great mistake to judge the direction in which South America is moving by the present dominance of reactionary governments. As a matter of fact, they betray symptoms of being but the dying gasps of an old order, for the university students and the labor groups — two most influential classes — teachers in primary and secondary schools, tenant farmers and certain Indian groups are committed to a new socialized movement. Strange to say, this social program, as already pointed out, is best organized in a country that recently had what appeared to be one of the most permanent dictatorships — Peru. To understand whither South America's road leads, we must watch groups like the fifty thousand youths recently assembled in the Lima bullring — no longer cheering when a tortured animal is run through by the toreador, but now standing for hours in the most orderly way to hear a leader recently released from jail outline a new life for Peru. Groups like this, some small, some large, are met in every country in South America — and they are determined that their continent shall play a part in creating a new world.

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Hispanic-American writers gave little attention to sociological and economic questions during the nineteenth century. About the middle of that century, however, a few Argentines and, somewhat later, Chileans, Mexicans and other nationals, began to devote some attention to fundamental economic questions in connection with their political writings. Domingo F. Sarmiento has already been mentioned. Juan Bautista Alberdi was the first Argentine thinker who had a clear idea concerning sociology. He said, " Of all the moral and political sciences the most useful, the most practical and necessary is social science," and in his *Bases para la organización política de la confederación argentina* he studies the evolution of Argentina much as Hamilton in his *Federalist* did that of North America.

During the last two decades of the century several efforts were made to analyze the social problem. A Venezuelan writer, César Zumeta, in *El continente enfermo* studied the outer and inner dangers of Latin America, the ills of the race and its questionable future. A little later the Mexican writer Francisco Bulnes, in *El porvenir de las naciones hispano-americanas,* wrote concerning the future of Latin America in comparison with the progress of the United States, and painted a very pessimistic picture. Another Venezuelan, Blanco Fombona, in *Evolución política y social de Hispano-América,* studied the conflict of classes and argued that in spite of the scarcity of population, ignorance and the lack of liberty, the continent is destined to develop into an important part of the world. The Brazilian writer, Manuel Bomfin, in *América latina,* also attacked the socio-economic problems of the continent. The great Peruvian writer, Manuel González Prada, in his *Horas de lucha* and *Páginas libres* fiercely attacked the immorality of Peru, seeing because of it little hope for the future, and launching his heaviest invectives against what he called *la mentira social,* " the social lie." Agustín Álvarez, the great lay preacher of Argentina, wrote vigorously on Spanish-American social shams in *¿A dónde vamos?* which Leopoldo Lugones named the most important book for young Argentines to read. Writers about the turn of the century are Octavio Bunge whose *Nuestra América* reminds one somewhat of Carlisle's *Pamphlet.* It is a keen study of the psychology of the creole and the mulatto as well as of other racial mixtures. Juan A. García in *La ciudad indiana* discusses the weaknesses inherent in the imaginative exaggeration, the pessimism and the arrogance of the Spaniards, along with the terrible fate of the proletariat in South America.

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Book Four

NEW FORCES

XIII

LABOR[1]

BECAUSE labor has been so cheap in the South it has been generally supposed that it is abundant, but as a matter of fact it is scarce in almost every section of Latin America. Although it holds the whip hand, if it only realized the fact, until recently industrial unrest was not known. Sooner or later, however, the class struggle accompanying the industrial age was bound to invade the Southern countries. The personal relationships of the old days between employer and employee were loosened and severed. Workmen began to congregate in large numbers in cities where they saw new life and learned of the outside world and its economic problems. When they first heard of the strike, as practiced by their brothers in Europe and North America, and essayed to employ it, they were promptly met by military force and crushed. A strike was a revolution. But today the strike is recognized as legitimate in most of these countries.

While unions are becoming strong in some of the more advanced nations, labor in the tropics is still far from any idea of organizing for the purpose of forcing better conditions. Faint signs of an awareness of an outside world struggle are seen, however, in the little sheets in backward countries which publish material like the following, culled from such a publication in Lima:

> Listen, Brother, to my notes of red with which my sun is vibrating; I sing of life — death to death! I go planting roses made of love and truth. Anarchism is my liberating thought. I am the Word which rises in humanity's darkest night and scatters all its pain. Listen, Sister, it is time to rise and greet the morning light which kisses our darkest suffering.

Far different from these incoherent cries heard in the night in Peru are the strong voices which in some of the other lands threateningly demand new rights and privileges. In the last few years, among certain nations, the working class has passed definitely from the status of a commodity to be bought as cheaply as possible by foreign and domestic capitalists, and has become a class-conscious body, a political force with which to reckon.

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[1] A fuller treatment of this subject will be found in the author's *South America Today,* chap. 1; *Problems in Pan-Americanism,* chaps. 2 and 7.

Since the World War there has been a welter of strikes, accompanied usually by violence, which has stressed recognition of the union even more than the need for higher wages or shorter hours. The cost of living has been a source of discontent everywhere. Depreciated currency, fluctuating exchange values, and the refusal of the propertied classes to pay their fair share of the taxes have increased the pressure even more. In Paraguay even the storekeepers shut up shop and joined the population of workers, many of whom, before the war, came and went between Europe and the east coast countries in a regular seasonal flux. The governments have arrested and deported hundreds of suspected foreign leaders, whose success in organizing disturbances must have been due in large part to a discontent lying everywhere close to the surface, flaring up in the wheatfields and the backreaches of the quebracho forests as easily as along the crowded waterfronts of the cities.

SOUTH AMERICA FOLLOWS EUROPE

It is important to keep in mind the fact that South American labor organization has followed European rather than North American models. Before the World War relations between the United States and South American labor, as in most other fields, were insignificant. On the other hand, European immigrants and propagandists, sent for that special purpose, began to plant ideas of organization and resistance in the docile minds of the Southerners, whose only organization in the early days was of the mutual aid type. It was natural, then, that the patterns of German socialism or of Spanish-French syndicalism or anarchism were followed. The Socialist party was organized in Argentina in 1896 and it joined the Second International in 1904. Under anarchistic influence, the powerful *Federación Obrera Regional Argentina,* the Fora, was constituted in 1901 and continued to have large influence for many years, although it was destined to wane through divisions, just as later did its Mexican counterpart, Crom. Brazilian trade unions first appeared about 1906, and those in Chile about 1900. In tropical countries with little immigration there seems to have been practically no organization of labor until agitators from Europe made their way into the oil, sugar and fruit fields following the World War.

Two conditions have often made the Southern labor movement less practical than that of European countries. The first is the one already mentioned: that the impetus has generally come from the outside. The conditions out of which European syndicalism, anarchism and communism developed were very different from the economic framework and social practice in South America. And yet the rivalries among the Amsterdam movement, the Second and the Third Internationals have often been the most disturbing questions in the South American organizations. The second reason for a certain exotic character is that the Southern intellectuals have often been the first to adopt advanced social views and have used a kind of benevolent dictatorship in passing them on to the proletariat. Even today the members of trade unions are likely to desire guidance by the friendly intellectual, the students or the government. Again, in the older industrial countries, the trade unions have grown out of long experience and long discussions of shop rules and rights. Not so in the South. With the fully organized industrial age sweeping down on them from the outside, the experience of long years, with its accompanying lessons, has been denied them. Thus it has proved exceedingly difficult for labor to develop a movement growing out of its own needs and directed toward securing its own benefits. As in the political realm, too often South American labor has received help and direction from aliens only that the latter might themselves benefit from its struggles.

This influence of outside organizations that often played for their own advantage accounts for some — but by no means all — of the cruel and reactionary methods used by governments in suppressing strikes and other protests against the abuse of employees. Rivalries among outside organizations, as well as the natural Iberian tendency toward individualism, explain also the large number of small unions into which Latin-American labor is split. This lack of unity is one reason why labor has lost many opportunities for forcing its program on governments. For example, Uruguay, a small agricultural country with few organized industrial workers, has a syndicalist, a communist, an anarchist, a reformist and several other minor labor movements. The Chilean workmen have been weakened for many years by struggles within the ranks of syndicalists, I. W. W.'s, Catholic and communist organizations.

Realizing the weakness caused by these divisions, leaders in several countries have made efforts recently to federate the many organizations. The Argentine Workers' Federation and the Argentine Federation of Trade Unions have come together in what is known as the General Federation of Labor. Several other trade unions of importance have indicated their desire to join this movement toward consolidation of forces. The affiliated membership is around two hundred thousand. The Mexican government itself, recognizing that if it was to throw in its lot with the laborers there must be a semblance of unity, backed a movement in 1936 to bring all the syndicates, urban and rural, into a common organization. It was decided to establish a workmen's university as one means of developing a feeling of solidarity among the proletariat. The Brazilian Labor party has been working toward a centralization of the trade union movement. According to recent estimates the total number of trade union organizations in Brazil is 727, with a membership of 930,000. Various other totals are hardly more than estimates and shift from time to time, according to whether the political party in power is desirous of receiving proletariat backing or depends on the support of the landed interests and the clericals. It has been one of the great misfortunes of Southern labor that it has been used so often for the support of governments which afterward have cast it off without the least effort to carry out promised reforms.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

While South America has been dominated by European labor movements, Mexico and other Caribbean countries have felt the influence of our American Federation of Labor. Two conditions prompted the American federation's interest: first, the close relation of its own problem to the Mexican, Cuban and other laborers in the United States; and second, its espousal of what might be called a Monroe Doctrine for labor. The American federation first gave attention to Mexican labor questions when, at its convention at Denver in 1908, it protested against the imprisonment in Los Angeles of various labor leaders, including the Magón brothers, on the charge of violating United States neutrality laws. From that time until the death of Samuel Gompers, a strong believer in the union of workers on the American continent as a protection against Europe, the United States group made many efforts to help laborers on the other side of the Rio Grande and to prevent military intervention and unfair economic dictation on the part of the United States in Latin America. After several protests to various Pan-American conferences, the Pan American Union, at the Santiago conference in 1923, recognized the importance of labor by assigning a section to represent it and deal with its problems. Close relations were established between the American federation and the powerful Crom of Mexico, and when Mexico and the United States were about to go to war in 1916 over the fact that a number of Pershing's men were being held prisoners by Carranza, Gompers had an important part in preventing hostilities, as he did again later when he used his influence to bring about the embargo on arms by the United States which helped crush the revolt of de la Huerta.

Not so successful was the father of the Pan-American federation in carrying out the " Monroe Doctrine of labor " upon which Samuel Gompers and Luis Morones, the leader of the Mexican Crom, had agreed. This failure is easily understood in the light of what has already been said concerning South American labor and its dependence on European leadership.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized in 1918 as a result of the spirit of New World solidarity developed during the World War. The federation adopted principles which recognized that just political and economic relations between powerful and weak nations are closely connected with justice for the laborer. It took a strong stand against intervention in Mexico by the United States, and protested vigorously against the treatment accorded labor by the dictators of Venezuela, Peru and Cuba, as well as by the North American corporations in Puerto Rico. Several conventions were held, generally in the United States or in Mexico, attended by delegates largely from these two and the Caribbean countries. Various deputations were sent to South America, but they found in the less progressive countries organizations not yet developed to a point where they could appreciate the program of the American federation, while in more progressive countries like Argentina and Chile their program was regarded as entirely too conservative by the local labor leaders, who indeed suspected their movement of capitalistic sympathies. Communist headquarters in Montevideo vigorously opposed the influence of the Pan-American federation.

With the death of Samuel Gompers and the eclipse of Luis Morones (an eclipse due to his fondness, after his years of poverty as a day laborer, for diamonds and high powered motor cars), and the drop, following the depression, in its budget, the long moribund Pan-American federation ceased most of its activities. In the meantime, labor in most of Latin America has become more nationalistic, and the federation's influence can become important only when and if the North American section itself displays less enthusiasm for sustaining the old capitalistic order and shows an awareness of the conditions and the demands of national dignity such as that found among the Southern labor leaders.

Labor's right to organize has now been acknowledged in constitutional or other legal measures in practically every one of these countries. In Mexico, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and various others, labor is not only given the right to organize, but it is required to appoint representatives to settle labor questions conjointly with representatives of the government and of the employers. In Brazil and Ecuador the most recent constitutions require labor, along with other social groups, to elect representatives to the national legislative bodies. The federal departments of labor now almost universally desire to deal with labor through its official organizations. Labor syndicates have therefore taken a definite place in the legal system of Latin America — probably before they themselves are quite ready to occupy such a place.

Despite its rapid growth, the labor movement has a long way to go before it will be in a position to accelerate the development of well rounded social legislation. In countries where political changes come so suddenly, organized labor, although small in numbers, has a great opportunity to exercise powerful influence if only it knows its mind and is united. Only the development — without abuse of class consciousness — of a nationalistic spirit and moral discipline can give it the strength it needs.

The present place of labor will be better understood by a brief examination of the rapidly developing legislation in this field. While most of these laws were formulated by advanced political leaders rather than by organized labor, there is no doubt that their adoption and enforcement have been aided by trade unions.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Social legislation came late in Latin America, but during the last ten or fifteen years this subject has received considerable attention. Simultaneously with industrialism came examination of the old ideas concerning labor and social justice, and the two forces began to work for new legislation even before the World War. But the greatest advance has been made since the International Labor Office at Geneva inspired such deep interest in the subject.

In 1907 Argentina passed a law regulating the work of women and children and fixing the minimum age of child labor at ten. Dangerous and night work was prohibited for children under sixteen, and an eight-hour day was prescribed for minors. This law was amended in 1924 to prohibit night work for children under eighteen and also the employment of expectant mothers six weeks before and six weeks after birth of the child. In 1912 a national Department of Labor was established; in 1915 a law indemnifying workers for accidents was passed; and in 1918 laws regulating domestic service and fixing a minimum salary were adopted. Argentina has taken action to provide homes for laborers, to organize saving plans and to pension employees.

The first congress organized by the national Department of Labor met in Buenos Aires, March 25–27, 1931. Resolutions then adopted included: proposals for creation of the ministry of labor; establishment of special tribunals of labor; consolidation of all labor offices into a national unit; application and extension of the law prohibiting work on Sundays; adoption of national laws on social insurance and on industrial arbitration and conciliation. In 1933 the agreements adopted by the International Labor Conference at Washington (1919) were ratified by the national Congress. These dealt with hours of work, unemployment, and regulations of work for women and children.

Chile passed a few protective laws years ago, but the real development of labor legislation, as well as of the labor movement, began with the election of President Arturo Alessandri in 1920. His proposals would have regulated the hours of work, defined conditions of labor for women and children, made imperative labor insurance and recognition of labor unions, and created a tribunal of conciliation and arbitration. For four years the national legislature refused to approve them and the legislation was passed only after a revolution which completely vindicated him. Among the provisions of this workmen's code were: the juridical form of labor agreements; prohibition of contract labor; fixing of an eight-hour day and forty-eight hour week; determination of salaries to be paid in national currency; the right of married women and minors to receive their own salary; establishment of a minimum wage for all workers, of equality of salaries for men and women in the same kind of work, and of minimum conditions of hygiene and provision against accidents; fixing of the age of fourteen as the minimum for industrial workers; prohibition of night work for those under sixteen and of underground work for those under eighteen; provision for obligatory rest for women forty days before and twenty days after childbirth; extension of the duties of the labor office; express recognition of the principle of liberty of association for workingmen; creation of tribunals for conciliation and arbitration.

Chile in 1933 ratified six new international agreements, which brought to nineteen the number adopted by that country. Colombia's ratification of twenty-four international agreements on June 20, 1933, put it well toward the front in this form of co-operation. Cuba in 1928 ratified sixteen of these international agreements, and the Dominican Republic in 1933 ratified three. Uruguay, in April, 1933, ratified in one act thirty international agreements concerning labor.

In 1928 the International Labor Organization adopted a convention providing that wage-fixing machinery be created in unorganized and underpaid trades. The attention of ratifying countries was called to the principles of a living wage for all workers and pay for women equal with that of men. Other ways of safeguarding women's interests were recommended.

Chile ratified the convention but had already in 1924 passed the legislation it called for. Mexico ratified also, and its Federal Labor Act of 1931 provided for the establishment of minimum wages for men and women on an equal basis. Colombia, Nicaragua and Uruguay ratified; Cuba recommended ratification and included in its new legislation provision for women's equality in wages. Uruguay passed a minimum wage law for rural workers in 1923, and in 1930 fixed a minimum wage for those employed in loading and unloading ships.

Brazil has not yet moved toward ratification, though her Constitution of 1934 called for " equal pay for equal work." The Peruvian Constitution provides minimum wage laws and such wage has been legally fixed for native workers. Argentina has a minimum wage law for home work. The Constitution of Ecuador provides for the fixing of a minimum wage in accordance with the average cost of living.

In the matter of industrial home work not a great deal of legislation has been enacted, but an endeavor has been made in some countries to establish the same rates for home workers as for factory workers. A provision along this line for women doing needlework at home was made by Peru in 1918. Mexico's 1931 Federal Labor Law provided that home and factory workers be paid at the same rate, and in other ways cared for the interests of home workers. Argentina's law fixed minimum wages for home workers of both sexes, although it affects women mostly. Cuba's 1934 labor law, already mentioned, regulated home work; it forbade women employed in industrial establishments by day to take work home and required that a minimum salary for home work be fixed annually by a special commission.

Women in Latin America, as well as men, have benefited by the movement toward the protection of workers against industrial accidents and occupational diseases. Legislation in this matter has been extended in recent years, particularly with regard to increasing the employer's liability, abolishing the notion of negligence on the worker's part as freeing the employer from liability, and also extending the idea of occupational risk to include occupational diseases. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay have all enacted legislation requiring an annual holiday with pay for some or all workers — manual as well as white-collar workers.

Unemployment insurance is in its beginnings, although Mexico declared in her 1917 Constitution that creation of relief funds for unemployment was a matter of social utility. The Peruvian Constitution of 1933 called for the establishment of a system to provide against the economic consequences of unemployment. Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay have had public employment agencies for a number of years. During the depression such services were extended and strengthened, and direct relief and work relief for the unemployed were also developed.

Despite the conventions adopted by the International Labor Organization concerning sick benefits and old age insurance, little legislation dealing with these problems has been enacted. Such provisions are perhaps of greatest benefit to women, whose wages are low. Chile, however, has ratified the conventions on sickness insurance for industrial and agricultural workers and has recommended the old age convention; it has moreover enacted legislation of its own on both subjects. Uruguay unified under one organization the existing old age insurance systems, which included the general plan covering all employees and the contributory systems for special classes. In Argentina an act requires remuneration to commercial employees in case of accident, sickness or death. Mexico has endorsed insurance for sickness along with other insurance plans. The labor code under consideration in Peru included a scheme of insurance against sickness, invalidism and old age, and survivor's insurance was extended to cover particular groups of workers.

The administration in Cuba took steps in 1935 to make its labor legislation conform to modern standards by creating the Superior Labor Council and establishing employment offices in five provincial capitals. The former served the Department of Labor in an advisory capacity, studying labor bills, investigating the effectiveness of labor legislation, codifying social welfare laws, suggesting improvements in social legislation and promoting harmonious relations between employers and employees. The five provincial offices operated under the direction of their respective provincial bureaus and under the supervision of the national Department of Labor, through one of its divisions. Every employer must inform the employment office in his province of changes, temporary or permanent, among his employees, whether they are experts, office workers, or skilled or unskilled laborers. In the case of vacancies or increases in his staff, the employer must consult the lists of unemployed suitable for his needs. Each labor union must report all cases of dismissal, employment or re-employment affecting its members. No employer may hire any employee lacking a registration card from the office of his district.

With reference to the regulation of individual contracts for work, the various countries fall into three groups: those having legislation applying to all classes of workers; those regulating only certain classes of workers; and those having projected legislation relative to the subject. Mexico is in the first class, having regulations similar to those of France. The contract as a rule must be in writing and limited to one year. In certain types of agricultural and domestic service, or temporary work, verbal contracts suffice. Anyone of sixteen years or older is capable of entering into a legal contract to work. Ecuador in 1928 passed legislation of a similar nature applying to all but agricultural and domestic service, the legal age for entering into such contracts being eighteen. Chile also has legislation covering such contracts. Brazil belongs to the second class mentioned and Argentina and Colombia to the third.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

In matters of conciliation and arbitration the countries are also unequally advanced. Brazil created in 1932 mixed commissions on conciliation to settle conflicts between employees and employers in the municipalities and localities where professional associations exist. The commissions were composed of an equal number of representatives of both parties and were presided over by an appointee of the ministry of labor. In case of conflict the commission came together within forty-eight hours and studied the difficulties; if conciliation failed the matter was submitted to arbitration.

The Chilean labor code of 1931 re-established the tribunals of conciliation and arbitration created by the law of 1924. In 1932 labor courts and tribunals of appeal were created charged with settling disputes arising out of the application of the labor code and the enforcement of the law, especially that of insurance against sickness, invalidism and old age. In Colombia, a decree passed in 1930 provided that a Council of Labor shall sit as a tribunal of conciliation and arbitration concerning the collective conflicts submitted to it by workers and employers.

The 1933 Cuban law regulating syndicates established a central board of conciliation and arbitration, formed by a minister of the Supreme Court, the director of labor, the director of social legislation, a representative of the workers' organizations, and another of the employers' organizations. This board dealt with appeals from sentences imposed by the tribunals charged with settling labor disputes; the latter tribunals were composed of one representative each of the workers, of the employers and of the ministry of labor.

Mexico's federal labor law regulated in detail the functioning of the board of conciliation and arbitration which had been created in 1917. Probably Mexico has done more toward developing this system through its experiences of recent years than any other of the Latin-American countries. It helped materially to serve the national economy and avoid paralyzing of industry in collective labor troubles. In Peru special labor courts were created at Lima and Callao by a law passed in 1930. In El Salvador they were decreed in 1929.

Recent constitutions have all provided for important social legislation. The following constitutions give special attention to this subject: Mexico (1917), Honduras (1924), Chile (1925), Ecuador (1932), Brazil (1934), Uruguay (1934). The provisions in these constitutions might be summarized as follows, although differing in details: (1) a reiteration of the right of labor to organize; (2) the freedom to select the kind of work desired and protection of the worker; (3) the eight-hour day and weekly rest; (4) the recognition of individual and collective contract as a medium of guaranteeing the right of workers; (5) a minimum wage; (6) protection of women and children; (7) medical care of industrial workers; (8) accident insurance; (9) a system of social insurance. The present tendency is to empower the national congress to legislate on all labor questions in order to fix equal rights for laborers in all parts of the country. The latest Constitution of Brazil says work ought to be organized according to the principles of justice and the necessities of national life, and conditions of life compatible with human dignity should be established in all parts of the republic.

There is also a definite tendency to codify labor legislation so that the laws may be more equally and justly enforced. Chile, Colombia, Brazil, Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru have recently moved toward this codification; Mexico and Uruguay accomplished it several years ago. Paid vacations are increasingly being provided by national legislation.

There has been a struggle to protect the national life from exploitation by foreign countries. At present the law fixes the ratio of national workers to be employed by foreign companies as follows: Bolivia 75 per cent; Brazil 75 per cent; Chile 85 per cent; Mexico 90 per cent; Cuba 50 per cent; Nicaragua 75 per cent; Peru 80 per cent; Uruguay 80 per cent. Most of the countries have special legislation concerning the organization of the *sindicato* or labor union. Mexico provides for three classes of syndicates: professional, commercial, industrial. The syndicate is subject to certain conditions; among others, it must be registered with the committee of conciliation and arbitration, which grants it incorporation, requires in return the submission of reports, and prohibits intervention in religious and political activities. It is given the power to carry on commercial transactions and to bring pressure to bear against workers not members of the syndicate. Commissions of conciliation and arbitration, which generally have the power of final decisions in labor disputes, are made up of representatives of employees, employers and the government.

We have already emphasized the importance of European influence on Latin-American labor. The labor legislation just discussed no doubt owes much to the inspiration received from the International Labor Office. In a way, much of it might be considered an effort to win labor to the government's support instead of allowing it to follow such stormy European influences as communism.

There has not been as great a struggle between capital and labor in the Southern countries as in either Europe or North America. Legislation has applied almost wholly to the industrial worker, farm laborers having been largely ignored, although the *campesinos* are far more numerous than the city worker. It is a pity that much of this legislation is too idealistic to be carried out in the primitive conditions under which labor and industry function.[2]

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[2] The International Labor Office has published in two volumes a full account of this labor legislation, which shows a surprising advance in such matters — *Legislación social de América latina* (Geneva, 1928, 1929), Vols. I and II.

XIV

STUDENTS

THE STUDENT movement in Latin America is a major social movement affecting the whole continent. It is symptomatic of leftist protest against the old order everywhere. Latin-American students are more intellectually precocious and less inclined to play than are Anglo-Saxon youth. The whole system of higher education overstimulates the student. He is taken too seriously. Even boys of fourteen in secondary schools are spoken of as young men. Accordingly, when they enter the university only five or six years beyond the primary schools, they have already come to think of themselves as adults. University youth has always been interested in politics, but it is only in recent years that the students have begun to realize that a shifting of personalities in government without a fundamental change in economic policy gives little permanent advantage to reform forces.

The first important international student conference in South America was held in Montevideo in 1908. Five years later a second congress was held in Lima, attended by many youth, like Baltasar Brum and Carlos Vicuna Fuentes, who later became leaders in political life. At that meeting the idea of " Student Day " and an international student hymn were adopted. These gatherings registered widespread unrest. But their philosophy was based on the positivism of Comte and the materialism of thinkers like Spencer and Haeckel who were interested in uprooting the old religious and political conceptions by the introduction of science and reason. It was basically anticlerical. It gave no place to human values. Hence it proved itself powerless to do more than promote unrest within the old order.

Following the World War, however, youth began to interest itself more directly in social and economic questions. In the first days after the armistice student demonstrations often took on the color of Wilsonian idealism. The banner of a procession of Argentine students bore the slogan: *Luz Más Luz.* It was light that the students desired to help them face the problems of the new day they intuitively felt was dawning. But the repressive action of reactionary faculties and their discovery of the plight of the laboring classes soon brought the students to realize that they would have to grapple with practical reform if, even within the university walls themselves, they were to secure the needed changes. More than ever they tackled social and economic questions.

University faculties had been composed of professional people who came from their offices as lawyers, doctors, engineers and government officials to lecture a few hours a week to the students. Many a rector would arrive about noon at his office, sign the papers that were awaiting him, and retire for the rest of the day. Laboratory work was practically nil and the use of libraries was little understood. Fellowship between professors and students, though there were a few marked exceptions, did not exist. Not the slightest responsibility for the moral development of youth was acknowledged by teachers — unless it was to break down, at times, spiritual ideals and foster loose sexual relations. Students were free to do whatever they pleased outside of class hours. There were no dormitories and no faculty supervision, and seldom was there even a student roll which recorded their home addresses.

When the students endeavored to change this state of affairs they learned that it was a part of the old heritage and was just as difficult to alter as any other old reactionary habit or philosophy. As Professor Victor Andrés Belaunde, of Peru, said, " The university is the link between the republic and the colony."

It was natural that the movement, now called *La Reforma Universitaria,* began in Argentina, since it was there that the radical party came into power in 1916 and there also that the Russian revolution was most ardently studied by certain university professors, like José Ingenieros and Alfredo Palacios. With the increasing industrialization and the development of a middle class which became more and more dominant in the universities, the necessity of such a reform became more evident. Its inception was the celebrated student convocation in Córdoba in 1918. Counting on the influence of the new radical president, Hipólito Irigoyen, and calling to their aid some of the strongest leaders in the radical labor organizations, the students of Córdoba gave considerable attention to the whole subject of university reform. They inaugurated it through a manifesto which has since become a famous document.

It has been my privilege to follow closely this movement since its beginnings, meeting with student groups and enjoying correspondence with their leaders in most of these Southern lands. The whole subject has been widely treated in the press, both favorably and critically, and its complete documented history has been edited by Gabriel del Mazo under the title *La reforma universitaria,* published by the *Federación Universitaria de Buenos Aires.* The basic program of the reform may be reduced to seven points:

(1) Creation of "free chairs" in the university as cooperators with the titular professors.

(2) Adoption of the system of seminars and laboratory instruction.

(3) Suppression of the final examinations as a definite proof of scholarship at the end of the year.

(4) Full time university professors.

(5) Participation of students and alumni in the election of university authorities.

(6) Representation of the student body in the controlling board of the university and in each faculty.

(7) Democratization of teaching.

The movement which started in Córdoba soon reached other Argentine university centers and spread to Chile, Peru, Cuba and other countries. "Thus it can claim to be an expression of all Hispanic America, and at the same time a proof of the existence of what some deny, a Hispanic-American soul," says a sympathetic critic of the movement, Dr. Juan B. Terán, former rector of the University of Tucumán.[1]

With the idea that youth was right and age was wrong, the leaders of the reform, calling themselves the "Generation of 1918," declared war on the older generation. The movement was, according to official interpretation, only one aspect of the

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[1] *Al servicio de la novisima generación de la América española* (Buenos Aires, 1931). This is one of the best documented criticisms of the movement.

" transformation which is destroying the pillars of society." It began in the university because this institution was " the center of capitalism and of privilege, a class institution — it was therefore necessary to give this transforming movement a revolutionary character." The university agitation was " a gymnasium, a revolutionary training where the new generation could learn to play the deciding part. For the revolutionists desired to liquidate the past and reconstruct society on a new basis which would lead to the enthronement of the proletariat."

The movement was not averse to using violence. The students of the law school of Buenos Aires declared in a manifesto, February 27, 1930, that " the first plan of the reform movement was one of violence, of physical compulsion, a position which it has not abandoned nor will in the future abandon." Rector Terán points out that in the documents of the reform there are many references to Moscow, and says that the reform agrees with the Soviet Union on the following points: (1) The unity of students and laborers, (2) the approval of violence, (3) the rule of the proletariat, (4) materialism in philosophy, (5) the fact that its ideal is economic and its procedure is political.

In Argentina this student-labor movement grew rapidly. In 1910 the students and workmen came into serious open conflict in the streets of Buenos Aires. To see the two, later on, working side by side as they forced their demands and brought revolutionary results seemed therefore little less than miraculous. Student riots and strikes have been by no means amusing pranks or diversions, for at times they have resulted in serious fighting and deaths on both sides. In La Plata, a year after the Córdoba convention, the police found themselves unable to handle the situation and soldiers were called out who besieged the buildings where the students, armed with modern rifles, defended themselves for days. During one of the strikes a student who dared to go to his examination was shot down in cold blood by his fellow-students.

In Buenos Aires the rector of the law school, one of the best known publicists of South America, was barricaded in the law building by students who kept him there without food until he was rescued by the police reserves. In Córdoba, where the strike lasted for almost an entire year, were witnessed bloody scenes similar to those associated with the most violent strikes in the United States. As a demonstration of sympathy with the students of Córdoba the entire university student body of Argentina went on a three days' strike, parading the streets and calling vociferously for their rights. Following that demonstration the Argentine University Federation was organized, and in 1919 a convention was held to study student problems. As a result of this movement the students compelled the authorities to revise the university system, at least to the extent of giving them a vote in the election of their faculties.

One of the remarkable characteristics of labor's struggle in Latin America against church and state is the hearty co-operation which the laboring classes have received from university students. Such co-operation was unexpected in view of the formerly dilettante, aristocratic tendency of much of university instruction, but it has already produced results beneficial to both parties. In Mexico, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay the students have arisen in defense of the interests of the proletariat. In Chile the union between these two groups grew so strong that it became customary before calling a strike to consult the students. This partnership brought many bloody encounters with government forces, resulting in the imprisonment and death of some students and the exile of others. However, the reform as it spread to various countries took on various emphases according to local conditions and expressed itself especially in three fields — international, social and political.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD

International brotherhood was stressed in various ways. The Chilean students, in spite of the antagonistic attitude of their elders, sent to their fellow-students of Peru, on the occasion of the latter country's celebration of its centennial in 1924, a fraternal message which proved influential in bringing the two nations to a friendly settlement in 1929 of the old quarrel over Tacna and Arica. The greeting stated:

> This generation, educated in the sophistry that the interest of the *patria,* whether just or not, is superior to moral interests, cannot understand, unfortunately, that we students place peace and justice above

> transitory interests. Only the warning cry of youth can clear the atmosphere and revive the sleeping sentiments of brotherhood. The American youth, who is given so many proofs of idealism and of an understanding of real world problems, ought to fight constantly to create a spirit of peace in this beautiful corner of the world. In sending through the student organization the expression of our fraternal attachment to all the people of America and especially to the young people of Peru on the occasion of its centenary, we understand that we do not reflect the sentiment of a majority of the Chilean people. But we have not vacillated in manifesting our own feelings, certain that they are just and noble and are destined finally to prevail.[2]

An equally stirring demonstration of the students' attitude toward internationalism was given by the International Congress of Students in Mexico in 1923. Representatives of twenty-three nations gathered in Mexico City in answer to a call to consider the problems of unity among the students of the world. The congress, with its wide representation, passed resolutions looking to the abolition of the present conception of the state where the few rule over the many, the ending of the exploitation of man by man and the supersedure of nationalism by internationalism, and advised determined optimism in regard to the solution of the world's spiritual problems in spite of present difficulties. Another resolution, condemning imperialism, congratulated the Chilean students for their message to Peruvian students, criticized the holding of Tacna and Arica by Chile, protested against the United States' advance in Santo Domingo and Nicaragua and the closing of the universities in those countries, denounced the tyranny of the government of Venezuela, and urged the students of Central America and especially of Nicaragua to strive to bring their countries into the Central American federation.

SOCIAL ASPECTS

In the field of social service the student movement had excellent results. In various capitals "popular universities" were founded for adult education. The students of Cuba in their first national conference in 1923 declared: "It is the duty of the student to impart his knowledge to society and especially to the manual workers, as being the element nearest to the intellectual workers; the workmen also should be fraternal, in order thus to form a new society, free from parasites and tyrants." As this implied the preparation of the masses for a future crusade for the modification of society as it now exists, many governments have looked with suspicion on the cultural efforts of students among the working people.

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[2] *La reforma universitaria,* VI, 185.

An illustration of this social work is found in Peru where, as early as 1920, a group of university students of advanced social ideas succeeded in winning the complete confidence of the proletariat. Besides conducting classes in elements of culture the young men lectured on various subjects, started campaigns against alcohol and in favor of sanitation, and gave artistic entertainments.

In May, 1923, after a meeting held in the university to protest against the proposal of President Leguía and the archbishop to dedicate the republic to a bronze effigy of the " Sacred Heart of Jesus," the students and workmen were attacked by armed forces as they came into the street. One student and a workman were killed and many injured. The whole city was aroused, and a memorable address was made at the burial of the victims by the (at that time) young student, Haya de la Torre, who was deported in consequence. He soon organized the Apra movement, which announced as its objectives the following: (1) Action against Yankee imperialism; (2) furtherance of the political unity of Latin America; (3) nationalization of land and industries; (4) internationalization of the Panama canal; (5) solidarity with all of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Magda Portal of Lima, a brilliant young poet, has rendered notable service to the movement. As a lecturer and propagandist she has made many friends for its program in various neighboring countries as well as in all parts of Peru. Her ability as a manager was rewarded when she was appointed director of the publicity department of the movement, which distributes a continuous flow of pamphlets and other printed matter. She suffered a year's imprisonment for her convictions, and was only released in the spring of 1936 due to the petitions of many famous literary people of Europe, led by Romain Roland.

The student organization in Colombia, called *Alianza Unionista de Gran Colombia,* was founded under the leadership of a Colombian youth, Luis Enrique Osorio. It sought to rouse the countries to a socialized educational program and to develop gradually a spiritual unity among Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama, the four countries that formerly were united as Gran Colombia. It hoped eventually to influence the union of Central America, of Peru and Bolivia, and to promote other national groupings.

In Mexico the youth in the educational centers undertook a service for the neglected Indians. The minister of education, José Vasconcelos, himself a young man, made an appeal to the students to volunteer as " missionaries " among the Indians. He pointed out that a spirit of sacrifice would be needed such as prompted the first missionaries who came to the New World. The appeal soon caught up about nine hundred young men and women, who left home and comfort to go out into the mountains to teach the Indians. Most of these young people a few years before had been content to philosophize on life, write poems and dream dreams. But they had come to realize that if Mexico was to occupy a place of influence her own young people must give themselves to solving the problems that had heretofore prevented progress.

The young women show themselves to be no less spirited than the men. When investigators pointed out to Señorita Elena Torres the appalling undernourishment of Mexico City's school children, who fell on the playground following the least exertion and went listlessly through their lessons, she resolved to do something about it. But she could find no help. So with her own hands and with a single brazier and kettle, she prepared hot milk, coffee and buns for children in one of the schools. The results were so remarkable that others became interested, among them Minister Vasconcelos. A house and a small sum of money were granted. Little by little Señorita Torres made new friends who helped her to develop the work, which finally took on city-wide proportions. This was only one of the activities of the señorita, who served in many of the social experiments promoted by the Department of Education. Her own struggles in the industrial world, where the women were commonly considered fair game for the men, made her rebel against the double standard of morality, and her experience as a nurse, as inspector of police, and as an official of the Socialist party, set her against the exploitation of children, the drink evil and false educational methods. She is only one of the many young women students who have graduated into leaders in social service.

The imperialism of the United States has been continually attacked by the students in the various Southern countries. A meeting of the students from the various states of Colombia in 1932 declared it to be a duty to guard the spiritual and economic integrity of Hispanic America, adding that "the influence of the financial imperialism of the Saxon-American United States on the economy of the nations situated south of the Rio Grande continues to constitute, even since the capitalistic catastrophe provoked by the recent economic crisis, the gravest danger to their independence." The students proposed a markedly national policy which would protect the economic integrity of South America and stimulate its development.

LEADERS IN REVOLUTIONS

In all the recent revolutions in South America university students have taken a prominent part. The start was in Bolivia, where the politicians have long regarded the positions in the national university at La Paz as rewards for their henchmen. When the students dared to lead a demonstration in 1930 against the corrupt administration of President Siles, the government countered by closing the university and banishing the students to distant parts of the country. The students, however, induced workmen to participate with them in another demonstration. The participants were charged by the military and fifty were reported killed, including two students.

These events roused the country; the army revolted and President Siles fled. The new government showed its appreciation of the part played by the students in the revolution by granting autonomy to the university. The students published a newspaper which was specially active in advocating "a crusade against tyrants throughout America." In Peru they were in almost continual opposition to Leguía and their active part in the rebellion against him resulted in the closing of the University of San Marcos.

In Argentina, strange to say, the uprising against Irigoyen, who had completely changed his earlier attitude of friendship to university reform, was led by students. On September 4, 1930, twelve years after that reform, a body of forty-five hundred students marched unarmed to the government house in Buenos Aires to ask the president to resign. The students were fired on, and one of them was killed. The next day they scattered leaflets through the city, calling on the people to rise and defend their liberties. They induced the army to join them and the revolt was successful.

In Chile the students became so active in their agitation against the dictatorial methods of President Ibáñez that several departments of the university at Santiago were closed and student gatherings were forbidden. Later, when Ibáñez had been driven out and anarchy threatened, the students formed themselves into a voluntary guard and alone commanded sufficient confidence to maintain order and save the country from chaos.

In the spring of 1933 several Peruvian university students attended mass in Lima with the country's military dictator, General Sánchez Cerro. Right in the sacred precincts of the church one of these students took out his revolver and fired three shots at the president, severely wounding him. He undoubtedly knew that there would be no escape from the death penalty. This did not prevent others a few months later from successfully carrying out their plan to assassinate the tyrant. These incidents illustrate the willingness of many students to sacrifice their lives for what they conceive to be justice.

Thus a movement which started out to refashion the reactionary university program grew to political proportions. Unfortunately, the students with the noblest intentions often found themselves being used as a battering ram for some selfish political group. When that group acquired power it usually ignored the students and restored the same old reactionary conditions. When young idealists realize how they have been cheated, they are tempted to start another revolution in alliance with some of the more radical labor and communistic leaders. In most South American countries students usually have been robbed of the fruits of their victories by the unscrupulous military and political leaders.

In Chile, for example, after Ibáñez fell in 1932, I called on the professors at the university at Santiago. We could hardly hear one another talk because of the falling panes of glass, the remains of which the carpenters were removing in order to repair the building after the terrific fusillade a few days before. This shooting had occurred because a few of the radical students and laborers had arranged with a group of army officers to start a movement against the Dávila regime. The rebels took possession of the university and government troops were ordered to expel them. Machine guns were stationed across the street and infantry charged the building. There was a general fight resulting in something like twenty deaths. As I was talking with the dean of the faculty of laws, professors were arriving and asking if there would be classes; the dean's only answer was, " See what you can do." Confused, excited students filled the patios and gathered in groups to discuss the advisability of a strike. Chaos had reigned for several months. A new rector of the university had been appointed every few weeks. During the brief regime of Colonel Marmaduke Grove, I was told, a communist minister of education who had no sense of balance announced to the students that they were to name their own rector and even to appoint the directors of secondary schools.

When President Velasco Ibarra of Ecuador began his term in 1934 he soon found that an important source of difficulty was the radical tendencies of the university and secondary students, who asked for practically complete autonomy. Apparently they would make of the schools a form of educational society in which the students would rule. When they encountered opposition to the bill granting this autonomy they declared a strike and held the university against a discreet siege by the police. The problem was solved for a time by the closing of the university by the president, but amicable adjustments were made, and a year later many youths from other South American universities, then closed, were attending the Quito institution.

The " Student Generation of 1910 " in Lima was a reform movement led by several brilliant youths, among them Hermilo Valdizan, José Gálvez, Oscar Miró Quesada, Victor Andrés Belaunde and José Riva Agüero. Strange to say, some of these have recently become prominent leaders of reaction. Later, an intellectual group that published *El Mercurio* under the guidance of Victor Andrés Belaunde, followed by a more radical group led by José Carlos Mariátegui, publishers of *Amauta,* kept the intellectual pot boiling. In 1916 a real student federation was formed to work for changes in old San Marcos, but in 1919 reactionary influences closed the university for two years. Revolt again shut its doors in 1923; and so on, alternately, the ancient institution has been opened and closed, mostly the latter. After the elimination in 1932 of the progressive rector, Dr. José Encinas, the doors were locked for three years and the reactionary minister of education, Riva Agüero (a member of the radical student group of 1910), has declared that the Catholic university offers the kind of education that is best for Peruvian youth. Few more tragic and, up to the present, more hopeless struggles for reform can be found than this long battle by the brilliant youth of Peru to bring a new life to their land. In the tragic struggle martyrs have shed their blood, the flower of the land has been imprisoned and ruined, friendships have been disrupted, ideals blasted, and reformers, disillusioned, have at times turned traitor to the cause.

Ups and downs in the University of Mexico were about as frequent and violent as those in old San Marcos, both of which institutions secured their royal and pontifical charters in 1551. Mexican youth early felt the influence of the Córdoba movement and challenged the government on many occasions. The most serious battle between the students and the government took place during a seventy-eight day strike in 1929. The uprising started in the conservative law school, whose students insisted on continuing the old system of oral examinations in spite of the fact that the rest of the university had accepted written examinations. After many skirmishes, during which the fire brigade was more often used than the police, a real fight took place between the police and the students, which resulted in a sympathetic strike of twenty thousand, including secondary students. Finally President Portes Gil, realizing the dangers to public order, took matters in hand. A law was enacted giving the university council of rectors, professors and students the right to control the institution, the government retaining only the privilege of submitting three names from which the council should appoint a rector, and determining how certain government subsidies should be spent.[3]

Even this did not satisfy the radical element, which was continually accusing the government of playing politics in the institution. When anarchy again developed the federal authorities in 1933 passed a law giving complete independence, and with the presentation of a lump sum of ten million pesos ceased all future subsidies. This was a considerable blow to the finances, and at present the institution is meeting with great economic difficulties, though the professors have shown a real spirit of sacrifice in facing reduced income. In 1934 another period of violence occurred when the university professors and students, in common with the Roman Catholic and other elements, protested against the socialistic education decreed by the government. The university elements refused to accept the idea that education was propaganda and that the school's business was to indoctrinate the student, just as the church had previously done, except that doctrines of socialism were now to be substituted for those of Roman Catholicism.

CUBAN YOUTH LEAD REVOLUTION

Cuba is the unhappy country where the students, when their elders failed, felt called upon to lead bloody warfare against the dictator, General Machado, and work for a complete reorganization of their land. The struggle began in 1927; it had its climax with the abdication of Machado in 1932, but continues as a part of the forces that are struggling to find a new order. The university has been closed off and on for the last seven years and it looks as though it has not yet found peace.

When Machado entered the presidency in 1924 he was greeted with enthusiasm because of the reforms he announced, among them the refusal of a second term, complete liberty of discussion, and better conditions for labor. But he soon had the Constitution changed to prolong his and his Senate's term of office and began to throw his opponents into prison. The students at the historic University of Havana immediately organized a public protest. Machado replied on April 10, 1928, by closing the university and beginning a reign of terror among university students that continued until the day of his flight from Havana.

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[3] For an account of this struggle see No. 12 of an interesting series of pamphlets entitled *Del México actual* published by the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico.

At first the students replied by peaceful means. An audience composed of the elite of Havana society was gathered together in one of the city's well known theaters to listen to a concert of Cuban music. As they awaited the raising of the curtain, a tall austere young man dressed in severe mourning appeared and delivered an impassioned appeal to his fellow-countrymen to dress in sackcloth and ashes, to bring forth deeds commensurate with repentance, to renounce all pleasure until the *patria* was rescued from its tragic condition. Such appeals only brought the imprisonment, torture and murder of the reformers. Machado's hired assassins boldly followed the brilliant student leader, Julio Mella, to Mexico, where they assassinated him on the street. The body of Felix Alpizar, another student leader, found a few days later in Atares prison, was honored by twenty thousand people who, remembering how this youth had been persecuted and tortured by the presidential guard two years before, accompanied his remains to the cemetery. Ten students arrested after the revolution of 1931 were shot, while leaders of that uprising, like ex-President Menocal, were allowed to go free. Two students, arrested while President Coolidge was in Havana opening the Pan-American conference, disappeared completely.

But none of these hardships stopped the students, young women as well as young men, often members of the finest old families of Cuba, from fighting the tyranny. They formed the secret society known as the ABC, which probably more than any other force influenced the final downfall of Machado. Some of the young people fought fire with fire and answered terror with terror.

With the aid of students of chemistry, the manufacturing and placing of bombs seems to have been developed to a fine art. The following incident occurred while I was in Havana: The police were notified that a certain empty house out in the suburbs probably contained arms. A police chief and two experts on bombs (the police also have developed their experts) went to investigate. Things looked suspicious and the chief went across the street to telephone for others to assist in the investigation. In the meantime, the students telephoned to the house to induce one of the police to go to the telephone, which the chief had overlooked. One of the officers answered and as soon as he raised the receiver he and his companion and the whole house were blown to pieces.

A few days later one of the students, a prominent young woman of the city, while driving down the street in her automobile saw coming toward her a certain police officer who was especially zealous in tracking down students. She calmly stood up in her car, drew a revolver and fired a number of shots at the officer, but her aim was poor and she missed him. She knew, of course, that she was courting imprisonment and probably death. She illustrated the lengths to which students in Latin America are willing to go in order to destroy the old and build the new. Before this attempt by the young woman, the dictator's police had taken prostitutes from prison and armed them with knives such as are used for stripping tobacco. When a group of women students appeared before the president's residence bearing banners with the word " Resign," the prostitutes fell on the girls, slitting their clothes, leaving them practically naked on the streets.

The gorgeous marble capitol in Havana, one of the most beautiful buildings in any land, was erected at a cost of eighteen million dollars at a time when thousands in Cuba were starving to death. Machado even went so far as to have an enormous diamond set in the center of the floor — a vulgar display designed to impress admiring American tourists. The students made threats to bomb the beautiful building, since it represented a riot of spending and graft when the country was sunk in poverty and crime.

This terrible struggle has helped to remold the youth of Cuba, compelling them to face the realities of life and make sacrifices for a new social order, to leave the old attitude of *choteo* which esteems all life as a joke, and to assume responsibility for the future. Advocating the nation's fundamental reorganization, a brilliant young Cuban said:

> Is this a long road? Does it demand sacrifice, absolute austerity, renunciation of gratifying positions, that anyone who chooses it may expect to be crucified? Yes, it most certainly does. But a people cannot choose its place. It either complies with duty or is a traitor to it. Our generation is giving an example of its loyalty and its willingness to suffer for destiny.

AN APPRAISAL

It is too early to pass final judgment on university reform in Latin America. Several deductions may be made, however. Proposed internal reforms included the introduction of more class discussion, more laboratory and library work, improvement and liberalizing of the teaching staff and participation of students in the government of their schools. Some success has been attained in the first two, but generally speaking the universities still await the carrying out of most needed internal improvements. Too largely does teaching still consist of lecturing, the dealing out of facts that must be memorized, the quoting of authorities that must be accepted, the use of the very limited laboratory facilities as exhibits rather than as real experimental stations. Too completely are courses directed solely toward training in a few professions rather than toward imparting culture and spirit. The overwhelming majority of professors still come from outside the institution to give their few hours of lectures and have no time to identify themselves with the life of the institution and the students.

One of the reasons for the failure to initiate larger improvements is, of course, the fact that the universities have been closed and often completely disorganized during much of the seventeen years since the reform began. The right of students to participate in electing the faculty and controlling the institution, though often granted, has usually proved that, without moral stamina, youth as well as age will play politics. Stories of scandals in connection with buying and selling of votes, positions and grades carried on between students and faculty in the

University of Mexico and other similar institutions equal any told about the older generation. The sad fact is, not so much that the Córdoba manifesto's boast of youth's eternal rightness has not been borne out, but that youth, when it seizes freedom and rejects discipline, has often proved itself little more capable of unselfishness and honor than its discredited elders.

It may be that disorganization will prove to have been of value in leading toward fundamental changes that would otherwise have been much slower in developing. In visits to sixteen of these countries in 1935 for the special purpose of securing appointments for foreign professors, I noted a feeling of security and tranquillity in university circles such as has not existed for a decade. Student dominance has greatly lessened. In all the institutions students now have a restricted representation on the university council — a balance between the extremes advocated at the beginning of the reform when both governments and professors felt themselves intimidated by the students. These young people seem quite willing to occupy a less prominent place in management now that they have discovered what a difficult job it is. With the period of violence gradually fading, educational enthusiasm is returning and the authorities feel the necessity for reorganizing the universities and often the whole educational system. The next decade will be a period of great activity and will see many new developments.

Those who consider that the main business of youth is to go to school and prepare to take a place in adult life as they find it will believe that the reform has been a great loss because it has resulted in the closing of most of the institutions of higher learning for long periods, thus depriving youth of a chance to take courses and secure diplomas, and has turned their attention to outside interests. But others will reason that youth is already a part of the nation's life; that if elders do not have the courage or conviction to protest against abuse and work for change, it is up to youth to take the lead; that the experience in actual leadership, the lessons learned from sacrifice and from the facing of intellectual and physical enemies, are more valuable than classroom preparation designed to make the youth a mere cog in the bureaucratic machinery of the order that now holds the reins of power.

In many countries the spiritual note has been strong. One of the most important results has been the uniting of the proletariat and the intellectuals to work for social reform. Since the Latin-American laborer was not educated and had no training for organization, it was necessary for him to find an ally who could build the reforms he desired on an intellectual base. Such a partnership proved, also, to be the best possible means of ridding the universities of false aristocratic conceptions, of developing practical expressions of brotherhood and of working out new democratic theories in the presence of human need.

In the National Congress of Students, held in Lima in 1924, the following declaration was adopted:

> The Students' congress cannot handle the religious problem in the form in which the generations of last century would have done. The youth of today must face this problem free from every kind of prejudice, both from the prejudices that come from fanaticism and . . . sectarian Jacobinism. . . . The religious problem possesses a very interesting aspect for the youth of the present generation. The life of man cannot be reduced to the satisfaction of material necessities. His spirit has profound longings; it asks itself serious questions which can only be satisfied and answered in the domain of art and religion. . . . The external and social aspect of religion has been confounded with its inner and moral aspect. This explains the fierce fanatical struggles which have been provoked whenever the religious problem was tackled. The free and idealistic youth of today should delimit well those frontiers and not confound religion itself with its exploiters.

On the west coast of South America and in Cuba, where the economic and political struggles have been most bitter, the reformers have been forced to do realistic thinking. Thus they have been led to examine critically two great and insistent influences in Latin-American life, imperialism and communism. Imperialism they have condemned unreservedly, though they reluctantly admit that it cannot be eliminated by a few condemnatory speeches; they realize that its dominance makes more difficult the task of developing a new order. As for communism, which often has seemed to be enthusiastically accepted, it begins to look as though its strongest deterrent in the South might prove to be the more solid element in the student movement. Literature of the Apra party in Cuba takes that position. " Only *Aprism* will save Cuba," is its motto, just as the Peruvian motto is, " Only *Aprism* will save Peru." As for dictatorships, fascist or other kinds, the only consistent, courageous enemies they have are the students.

Since preparing this study I have reviewed again a large number of documents which have been issued by Hispanic-American students. How I wish they might be widely read in the outside world! They are, to me, literature as inspiring as any this century has produced. What a range of topics! The manifestoes and messages of student conferences, the history of student campaigns in a dozen lands, fraternal greetings of students — Chile to Peru, Bolivia to Paraguay, etc. — protests against the intervention in Nicaragua and the activities of armament salesmen, affirmations — many and overwhelming — of the unity of Latin America, appeals for sacrifice, for service, for fresh thinking, for world-wide brotherhood, all backed by a determination to change the world at any cost.

If a popular edition of these documents could be issued, many a reviewer would ridicule such idealism as tomfoolery. But not so for those of us who have in the midst of bullets or in the quiet of personal comradeship felt the heartbeat of these Southern youths. As the Psalms of David have preserved the ideals of Israel, so the manifestoes of the *reforma universitaria* will reveal the noblest thoughts of Latin America to future generations.

XV

COMMUNISTS

COMMUNISM is making a tremendous bid for supremacy, and where the privileged classes are entrenched and fight tenaciously against all betterment in the lot of the underprivileged, Soviet agents find fruitful sowing. It is exceedingly difficult to determine just how much of the radical movement is simply the uprising of an overburdened people, as was the revolution in Mexico (which started before the emergence of Soviet Russia), and how much of it is really connected with the Soviet regime. University students, intellectuals, young army officers and labor leaders seem to be the classes most largely affected by this appeal.

The number of translations from the Russian, German and French of communist books that is found in the bookstores of the large cities is astonishing. Besides books, practically every country has from one to half a dozen periodicals favoring communism. These are usually small sheets and are frequently suppressed by vigilant governments — to reappear usually in a different locality under the same or a new name. In weaker countries the stronger organs from Mexico, Cuba, Argentina and Uruguay are circulated. The small group of Latin-American intellectuals living in the United States also help to disseminate Soviet doctrines in their home countries. While the propaganda activities of the Third International have been exaggerated, that organization has openly carried on its work in Latin America for many years.

Whether directed from the Soviet Union or acting spontaneously as a demonstration of the new nationalism, radical protest movements are more and more threatening the old order in three-fourths of the Latin-American countries. The movements against land monopoly, peonage, foreign economic domination and the church are destined to extend rapidly over every country which does not, as Uruguay has done, quickly readjust its social structure to relieve some of the oppression of the poor.

A radical socialist government was actually set up in Chile on June 4, 1932, under a radical Chilean military officer, Colonel Marmaduke Grove. It lasted only a few days. In Mexico several states at various times have adopted a communistic order. The first was under Governor Felipe Carillo, of Yucatan, a lover of the common people, whose assassination ended the regime. Communism in Buenos Aires, so strong in 1920 that it was able practically to dictate government policy for over a year, is not allowed today to show its head. A small group of communists in Cuba had considerable influence during the six-months regime of President Grau San Martín. Communist parties are openly organized and participate in election struggles in Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador and Costa Rica. The party has at least one deputy in the congresses of some eight republics.

It is, of course, impossible to say how far even these definitely communistic movements are connected with the Soviet Union. Most movements south of the Rio Grande called communism are more accurately described as " radicalism." Governments inclined to be dictatorial accuse their opponents of being communists and, counting on the general sympathy of capitalistic countries with any movement against communism, proceed to violate the freedom of the press and the guarantees of the Constitution by persecuting and expelling from the country those who profess liberal ideas and protest against constitutional abuses.

PROPAGANDA

Communism as represented by the Third International, the propaganda organization of the Soviet Union, has been working in various countries of Latin America. Disappointed in its drive in Europe in 1922 and convinced that Latin America offered a rich field for the sowing of communistic seed, it established international headquarters in the city of Montevideo. From there, its agents and literature were sent to all South American countries.

This propaganda was both political and economic. The political section used literature and special agents who were sent at critical times to certain countries where there was acute dissatisfaction with the economic and political order. Wherever the situation is critical, as during the revolutions in Chile, in Peru, in Cuba and in Brazil, these agents immediately become active. They work principally among the laborers, but have shown their power among military and naval groups in Peru, Chile and Brazil. The U.S.S.R. invited a number of Latin Americans to visit her and some of these took courses in the propaganda school and returned to their home countries to prepare for the hoped for revolution. Local sections kept in touch with the more important organizations reported to exist in Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Asunción, Valparaiso, La Paz and Callao, and these in turn were connected with continental headquarters in Montevideo, until the coup d'état which gave President Terra dictatorial powers and put a ban on radical movements.

The South American headquarters of the Soviet trading agency was established in Buenos Aires in 1926 as a branch of the Amtorg Trading Corporation of New York. Reorganized under Argentine laws as the Iuyamtorg Corporation, it extended its operations to virtually all other South American countries. It also established an important import business, introducing Russian products brought on the ships that came to carry back the Soviet Union's heavy purchases of South American raw materials. The company eventually established a direct steamship service between Russian and South American ports. While acting as general manager of this import-export business, Mr. Kraevsky received diplomatic status from Moscow to negotiate recognition of the Soviet regime by South American republics. During General Uriburu's dictatorship in Argentina in 1931, Iuyamtorg's offices in Buenos Aires were raided and the company was expelled on a charge of organizing a communist plot against the president, who was constantly threatened with counter-revolution by the radical party which he had overthrown in the revolt against President Irigoyen.

The spectacular raid on Iuyamtorg's offices led to the organization of a fascist party to safeguard Argentina against an alleged communist plot. It had a large civilian militia to protect General Uriburu from Irigoyen sympathizers in the army. Iuyamtorg moved to Montevideo, where it incorporated under Uruguayan laws and continued to operate. However, on January 25, 1936, the president of Iuyamtorg announced the liquidation of the company because of the cessation of Uruguay's relations with the Soviet Union.

The severance of relations between Montevideo and Moscow came as the climax of a revolution in Brazil a few weeks earlier, a revolution which President Vargas declared had been backed by the Soviet organization in Montevideo. The first result of this incident was a general clamor against Russian communism by governments that had recently been troubled by opposition and had been tightening the decrees against free speech and radical tendencies. States like Uruguay, Argentina and Chile again urged the calling of an international conference for united action against what they claimed was a subversive influence directed and financed by Moscow. President Vargas warned Mexico that the South American headquarters for communist propaganda was being moved to that country — though the Mexican Communist party vigorously denied the charge. Foreign Minister Litvinoff challenged Uruguay before the League of Nations to show proof that Russia had had anything to do with the Brazilian rebellion against the Vargas regime, sarcastically reading from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* a list of the numerous revolutions that had succeeded one another there before Soviet Russia began to operate. While the Russian diplomat's claim that Uruguay should have taken the question before the league before dismissing the Soviet minister was not sustained, the debate may tend to make it less habitual for Latin-American governments to accuse all their opponents of being communists. During this discussion the *Buenos Aires Herald* pointed out that when it printed an interview with the exiled President Alessandri in 1925, it was reprimanded by the authorities for mentioning that "communist." Now Alessandri, having returned to the presidency, was accusing the orthodox Chilean officials of the earlier days, just as they had him, of being communists. Likewise President Ayala of Paraguay accused Colonel Franco, while the latter was fleeing to Argentina, of being a communist. But two weeks later Colonel

Franco returned as a national hero to seize the presidency and announce the establishment of a fascist government.

The efforts in the early part of 1936 to call a continental convention to secure united action against communism appears to have failed, just as have earlier plans. However, it seems quite clear that the all but ubiquitous dictatorial regimes in South America and the growing fascism are united in their determination to exterminate communism.

MEXICO

In passing over the map rapidly to view the situation in various countries, we must keep clearly in mind that we are here tracing not radical, social or communal ideas, but the presence of an actual political party directly or indirectly connected with Russian communism or the Third International, and following the same methods and ideology. The difference is very clearly seen in various denials that Mexico is communistic made by President Cárdenas and by the following declaration, on December 4, 1935, of the president of the National Revolutionary party, Emilio Portes Gil:

> I want to say clearly and frankly that the program of the National Revolutionary party is not communistic nor does it have tendencies of a communistic character. Ours is not a rigid program; it is continuous and accommodates itself to social, economic and cultural conditions as it gains the support of the proletariat. Its methods of development are principally syndicalism that gives to the workers those elements of defense needed to attain our ideals, and the organization of co-operatives which present to the salaried classes the means of production and to the country people the possession of lands which can be converted into productive elements. Any experiments with exotic theories here would be a grave error which would not only threaten the success of the revolution but would mean loss in time in completing the program of a revolution essentially nationalistic with an ideology eminently Mexican.

This statement may be accepted as true in regard to the question of whether the Mexican government is under the orders, secret or open, of the Communist party. Indeed, the Mexican government so deeply resented the alleged efforts of Moscow to interfere in internal affairs that the Russian minister was given his " walking papers " in 1930, since which time the embassy has been closed. This, of course, does not mean that communistic ideas are non-existent nor that a political party advocating them is not allowed, nor yet that the Mexican government itself is not favorable to many communistic ideas. With the exiling of former President Calles, the Cárdenas government has very definitely turned to a radical program favorable to the working classes and avowedly critical of the industrialists.

The Communist party of Mexico, a section of the Communist International, was founded in 1919. It has carried on a continuous agitation. It helped the Obregón government against the rebellion headed by Adolfo de la Huerta in 1923; it assisted the Calles government against the uprisings of 1927; but after the assassination of General Obregón it decided to oppose the constituted government.

Previous to this definite rupture with the middle-class regime, the party exercised influence over various workers' organizations. *El Machete,* published weekly in editions of fifteen thousand copies, was the party's organ. The *Confederación Sindical Unitaria* was formed in 1929. One hundred thousand workers, members of three hundred and fifty organizations, joined this federation, which is allied with the *Confederación Latino Americana.* The congress of the latter, held in Montevideo in 1931, had representatives of workers' organizations from all Latin-American countries, as well as fraternal delegations sent by workers' unions in the United States and Canada. The Latin-American Confederation is related to the Red International Syndicate of Moscow.

The *Liga Nacional Campesina,* "National Peasant's League," was formed November 20, 1926, at a congress in Mexico City. It has made a vigorous fight for the claims to economic and social betterment of the peasant class, which composes 80 per cent of the total population of Mexico. The farmers making up this league have often helped the federal government, organizing themselves into bands for guerrilla warfare in the government's armed struggles against rebellions.

The Mexican section of the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas, affiliated with the World Anti-Imperialist League, was organized in 1924. The World League against Imperialism has held several congresses, one in Brussels in 1926 and one in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1931. A pro-Nicaragua committee was organized in 1928 to protest against the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua and to assist the wounded soldiers of Sandino. The International Red Aid, founded in Moscow (1923) with the purpose of helping the victims of imperialism and reaction, has organized a Caribbean section.

The Teachers' International, with headquarters in Paris, claims to have in its ranks eight hundred thousand revolutionary educators organized to combat imperialism and the influence of reaction. The *Confederación General de Trabajadores,* organized in 1921, is anarchistic in its conceptions, rejecting all collaboration with the state. It is connected with the Workers' International of Berlin and has participated in bloody encounters against federal armed troops in Mexico City, Tampico and other centers.

A " communistic " regime existed for more than a decade in the state of Tabasco, where Governor Tomás Garrido Canabal seized all the churches and turned them into schools or labor centers, and largely directed the industrial as well as the cultural life of the state. But in 1935 his action was finally revealed as part of a scheme for the glorification and enrichment of a *cacique,* who was exiled in disgrace.

In 1931 most of the show windows in the city of Vera Cruz displayed placards which declared in substance: " We do not pay our electric light bill. We do not allow our electric current to be turned off." The explanation of how one could eat his cake and have it too was found on the street corners, where much larger posters stated in effect that " any individuals or firms who refuse to pay their electric light bills and have difficulties with the foreign company furnishing electric power, will kindly notify the undersigned who will see that they are protected." The signature was that of the treasurer of the state.

A well organized Communist party maintains open active headquarters in Mexico City. Prominent labor leaders influential in the government visited Russia in 1935 and express sympathy with the Soviet regime. Industrialists in Monterrey and other cities are strongly protesting against the communistic influences in the labor arbitration boards and other governmental agencies.

COMMUNISM AS PRETEXT FOR ILLEGALISM

The alleged existence of communism in Central America is made explanation for many illegal acts. The United States government itself, when Mexico backed a Nicaraguan government disapproved by Washington, made a bid for public support of intervention by declaring that an alarming growth of communism which threatened the stable institutions of America was taking place in Nicaragua. On November 18, 1926, the state department gave the press a statement that "for the moment the question of Mexican interference in Central American countries, presumably for the purpose of fostering radical propaganda and bolshevist philosophy, has swept off the stage other questions pending between Mexico and the United States." Ten years afterward this statement seems as mysterious as at the time of its issuance, since no evidence of any influential communistic movement in Nicaragua then or now has been produced.

The revolution of 1932 in El Salvador was supposed to be directed against a rapidly developing communistic government. Representatives of Soviet Russia were said to have been at work for eight or ten years among the ignorant country people. Again it was reported that a time was set — January 22, 1932 — for a general uprising in all Central America. But only El Salvador seemed well enough organized to carry out the program. There the Soviet emissaries, it was claimed, succeeded in instilling into the minds of the country folk the idea that all property belongs by right to those who work with their hands. A thousand of them came down on Sonsonate after midnight, killed eleven policemen who guarded the customs house, got into the army barracks, and came near taking possession of the whole city. Their principal weapon was the machete. Stores were sacked, money was taken from the rich, atrocities were committed. The government troops went into action and the poor ignorant people were mowed down like grass; no mercy was shown to great or small. Many innocent people fell with the avowed communists. Within a few days all men were required to give evidence that they were not communists. Soviet leaders were hunted down and shot where found. The new government of General Martínez, which the United States refused at first to recognize because of its revolutionary origin, used an iron hand against all its opponents and accused them of being communists. President Martínez, as the only candidate, was unanimously elected to succeed himself in 1935.

More recently San José, Costa Rica, has been the scene of communistic activities. Polish immigrants were suspected of disseminating Soviet propaganda as they peddled merchandise through the country, and as a result measures were taken to prevent their immigration. The Communist party in Costa Rica has developed to the point where it has become a political factor. In a strike on the banana plantations in the summer of 1934, Communists openly promoted and controlled the situation. President Jiménez recognized officially the Communist party by receiving as its delegates the leaders of the strike. Although the strike was thus settled without bloodshed, many felt the president had made a fatal mistake by his official recognition and that this was just the preliminary to greater and more important strike movements under communistic leadership. But the president stated in reply that it was his duty to receive any citizens of the republic and listen to their representatives. In the presidential elections in February, 1936, the Communist candidate, who conducted an active campaign, received less than a thousand votes.

Other Central American countries show little evidence of doctrinary communism as an active element, although there is plenty of unrest due to the oppressive economic situation. In Nicaragua and Panama the influence of the United States tends to check any communistic movements.

It is natural that political upheavals have made special opportunity for communism in Cuba. The first organization, then like most of the " parlor bolshevist " movements among the intellectuals, was completed in 1925 under the secretaryship of Julio Antonio Mella. Toward the close of Machado's regime, while still maintaining a students' left wing, the party addressed itself directly to the laborers and organized junior communistic leagues and the Radical Women's Union to aid its propaganda. It also maintained close relations with the Anti-Imperialist League and various other international groups inspired by the Third International propaganda organization.

The National Confederation of Labor has become the driving force for communism in Cuba. It takes advantage of public demonstrations, and when its members brought the body of their assassinated hero, young Mella, from Mexico in 1933, they had a clash with the police in which several people were killed. During the chaotic days of 1933–35 the National Confederation of Labor exerted herculean efforts to organize Cuban working men. It has managed several important strikes and fostered hundreds of minor disturbances, all, of course, as steps toward realizing its avowed purpose of eliminating capitalism and establishing a new order ruled by the proletariat.

The confederation, which organized the impressive Fourth National Labor Congress in January, 1934, claimed some 430,000 members represented by the two hundred labor organizations sending delegates. The ineffectiveness of the confederation even in this chaotic period was disappointing to its leaders. It seems to indicate that communism is not suited to Cuba, or at least that it would attract the mass of laborers only if they despaired of every other means for reform.

In Colombia conditions are probably less favorable to the development of communism than in some other South American lands. The people are naturally conservative and the influence of the Roman Catholic church is very powerful. The liberal regimes of Olaya Herrera and Alfonso López insisted on free speech, and the Communist party in the 1934 elections showed certain strength. During the threat of war over Leticia a mob attacked the communist newspaper and the government prohibited its publication. Some of the many strikes in 1934–35 were also traceable to communism. The López government, in meeting this growth of radicalism, proposed various items of social legislation to grant some of the legitimate demands of the abused lower classes.

In Venezuela the iron hand of the dictator, General Juan Vicente Gómez, made any radical organization impossible. It remains to be seen to what extent his death in 1935 will, in the general scramble for power, give any special opportunities for communistic action.

In Ecuador there is a small minority in the national Congress advocating better conditions for workmen, minimum salaries, distribution of land and a war on the great estates. The ordinary workers do not show interest in these problems. There are a few "comrades," however, who have been in Moscow and continue to carry on a considerable propaganda. In 1925 there was a socialistic military circle in Ecuador, but this seems now to have lost its influence. On March 26, 1929, Ecuador adopted a new Constitution which testified to a certain development of social ideas. Socialistic movements in the universities and secondary schools, provoked by European elements, were joined by some of the national professors. The radical element among university students is in evidence. The small cocoa crops of recent years, due to attacks on the plants by a parasite which has thus far proved inexterminable, have brought about unemployment. But the recent economic improvement has been marked. A few labor organizations, along with the National Society of Agriculture, are combating communism, which nonetheless seems to be growing. The item of Soviet propaganda that has been most popular in Ecuador is the proposal to confiscate land for the benefit of the lower class. In 1935 the Communist party had grown strong enough to notify the provisional president that it would overthrow him if he did not stop his alleged policy of deporting radicals to the Galapagos Islands or the Amazon jungles.

Coming now to Bolivia, the reports around 1930 that large numbers of Aymara and Quechua Indians had turned to communism were without foundation. The uprisings of the aborigines proved to be largely a reaction against the abuses of the Siles regime. The leaders of that movement, including a youthful idealist named Roberto Hinojosa, although expelled many times, have kept up the agitation. When, however, Bolivia entered the more serious stage of her war with Paraguay, her very existence as a nation was threatened. As usual in such situations, social reform was forgotten and all forces were concentrated upon averting national humiliation. With peace established once more, the radical forces are bending their energies to bring about a social revolution. A Bolivian author, Oscar Cerruto, has pictured in a realistic novel, *Aluvión de fuego,* the horrors of the war and the awful sufferings of Bolivian youth in the " green hell " which is the Chaco. This book takes its place beside the harrowing accounts of life in the jungles of the Amazon, the tropics of Venezuela and the pampas of Argentina given in *La vorágine* by José Eustacio Rivera, *Doña Bárbara* by Romulo Gallegos and *Don Segundo Sombra* by Ricardo Guiraldes. The profound impression made by Cerruto's stark description of the battlefields is augmented by such declarations as the following by another one of Bolivia's young men:

> The Chaco War — coming on the top of the misfortunes brought by the world crisis — is perhaps the bitterest experience that the masters of the country have wished on Bolivia since its beginning as an independent nation. The war has made the country's agricultural workers, its miners and oil field workers more miserable than they ever were before.
>
> A minority of large proprietors, descendants of the *caciques* of the colonial epoch; a minority of intellectuals, sprung from the several rich merchant families, who direct now in their turn the political course of the country under the more or less hidden control of the foreign companies; and a mass of laborers breaking their backs on the estates of semi-feudal lords or in the mines owned by New York financiers — such is the picture of present-day Bolivia, worn out by a crazy war of several years' duration [*International Review,* March, 1936].

It would appear, therefore, that Bolivia, after dwelling a hundred years in the purely political realm, is now due for a thorough economic overhauling. Communistic propagandists will, of course, not fail to make the most of such a situation.

IS APRA COMMUNIST?

So long as Leguía remained dictator in Peru communism as an organizing force had no chance there. Yet right under his nose a group of young literati began to study the Russian experiment and theorize about its application to the sick body of Peru, about which Manuel Gonzáles Prada had declared, " Wherever you touch the Peruvian organism, it exudes pus." The first young Peruvian to think through the economic problem was the sainted Carlos Mariátegui who, though he died prematurely in 1923, might be called the father of Peru's modern radical school. This pale, undernourished, sickly young man whose fever for knowledge and suffering led him from his country home to become copyboy in a Lima newspaper office, grew to be the link between the old and the new in Peru's intellectual world. But he was more than that; he was the spiritual successor of the great radical prophet, Manuel Gonzáles Prada. If he never rose to the literary heights of his predecessor, who spent his life with his books, the young saint went far beyond him in practice by living and suffering with Lima's poor in some of the most terrible slums that ever subjected to the curses of tuberculosis and prostitution the helpless victims of exploitation. What Kagawa has been to the needy of Japan, Mariátegui would have been to the underprivileged of Peru if that hacking cough had not so early rent in twain his frail body. But he did not surrender until he had written, in *Seven Essays on Peru* and other volumes, the analysis of Peru's problems and given the vigorous leaders of today the fundamental basis for their revolutionary program.

The story of the young *Apristas,* who followed Mariátegui but repudiated his acceptance of communism, has already been told. During the brief but bloody regime of Sánchez Cerro, that ruthless militarist made many efforts to prove that his opponents were backed by Moscow, especially in a naval revolt which proved to be a serious affair. He criticized Uruguay for allowing the open existence of a communist propaganda office in its capital and proposed an international conference to eliminate the influence of the Third International in South America. But the conference was never held. At present, although there is an openly communist organization, the strength of the radical movement in Peru lies in the *Apristas.* The agents of the Third International in Chile have been openly active for a number of years. They found there among the *roto* classes, who have long threatened revolution, a vigorous element ready for communistic doctrine. But an investigation made by the United Press in January, 1936, indicates that genuine communism, of the true Moscow brand, still is negligible in Chile after more than fifteen years of intense propaganda.

> Communism might have prospered in Chile but for one factor. The years of convulsion after the initial upheaval which overthrew General Carlos Ibáñez in 1931 and the subsequent mutiny of the navy were fertile for the movement between the Stalinites and the Trotskyites. . . . The Stalinites are in close harmony and contact with Moscow, and adhere to the Third International. . . . The effective leader of the party is a former deputy and lawyer who just has returned from the Soviet capital, where he attended the seventh International Comintern. . . . Both factions have two parliamentary representations, railroad and nitrate workers, although a decree of one of the de facto governments of 1932 officially outlawed communism in Chile. . . . It is estimated generally that the Stalinites number about twelve thousand and the Trotskyites about five thousand. Of late there has been a tendency of professional men, just out of the universities, to take up communism.

It is difficult to say how far the Russian influence motivated the revolution which expelled Ibáñez in 1931 and precipitated the contest between Colonel Marmaduke Grove, who represented more radical extremes, and Don Carlos Dávila, the suave diplomat, representing the idea of a more peaceful transformation of the government into a socialistic state. This attempt to establish a socialistic regime not connected, it would seem, with Moscow, failed. In the early part of 1934 the supposed communist, Marmaduke Grove, again appeared on the scene, being unexpectedly elected while he was in jail to a seat in the Senate. Immediately his utterances on behalf of the extreme left wing Socialists gave rise to a furor. Senator Grove is now developing a strong Socialist party which has no connection with Soviet Russia but is forming its program to suit local conditions. About this time also an agrarian revolt (supposedly of communistic origin) broke out in the upper Bío-Bío region, but subsided with the arrest of two hundred leaders who were said to have been developing a widespread communistic movement. Again in February of 1936, a nation-wide railroad strike was declared by the government to be of communistic origin, and led to the arrest of some six hundred opponents of the government and the customary request by Parliament of more power for the executive. Again the suggestion was made that an international conference be called to deal with the threats of a Latin-American uprising financed by Moscow.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Argentina, the most European and the most industrialized of Latin-American countries, would seem to be in various ways the most open to communism. It had the first radical president in South America, Hipólito Irigoyen, elected in 1916. In its first days the bolshevik experiment attracted considerable attention in Buenos Aires. Post-war conditions speeded up the development of labor organization, and communism secured such a hold that what was practically a Soviet setup gained a vise-like grip on the port industries. Strikes spread over the country and dominated industrial conditions. The workmen were favored by President Irigoyen. But the depression of the early twenties and of the end of Irigoyen's term threw the laborers on the defensive and chased the communists into hiding. Some of their liberties were restored during the second administration of Irigoyen. When the aged president became so inept that he was overthrown by General Uriburu, the latter in true military fashion began a drive against all opposition. During that period a horror of radicalism expressed itself in a hunt for " reds," in persecution of all opponents of the government, and in the expulsion of the officers of the Iuyamtorg along with hundreds of other supposed " agitators."

The conservative President Justo announced, following a Chilean revolt of rural workers (supposedly of communistic origin), that strong measures would be used to suppress any attempted disorders. In July, 1934, a strike of carpenters and woodworkers developed into sabotage. Argentine police reported that bombs had been thrown and non-strikers ill treated, and arrested labor agitators listed as communists or anarchists. In the investigations which followed, the police reported a widespread plot for a general strike embracing all labor organizations associated with the radical Argentine Regional Labor Federation. Though similar outbursts in several parts of Latin America at approximately the same date aroused suspicion of a radical destructive program of international scope, there was no evidence that such a plan had sufficient backing to meet with success. The same declarations, accompanied by the same kind of attack on radicals, were made in 1935, and no doubt will continue under the present conservative government. But such measures are not likely to drive out communism. Besides its strength among the labor elements, driven underground at present, it commands at least the theoretical acceptance of a considerable number of intellectuals and students.

In Uruguay we find a state which has been so sure of its righteousness as embodied in the large amount of favorable social legislation, that it gave communism every opportunity to state its case, and even granted it permission to establish its continental headquarters in Montevideo. Yet the party has never been able to make much of a showing; it had only two members in the national legislature, and Uruguayans laughed at the suggestion that communism might secure a dominating influence in the country. When, however, President Terra inaugurated a revolution against his own government and removed the executive council and national legislative body, he dealt severely with communists and other opponents. Many radicals accused of being communists have been deported, and, as already related, in December of 1935 Uruguay handed his passport to the Soviet minister at the request of the Brazilian government.

A country so traditionally conservative in its social attitude as Brazil would seem to be an exceedingly sterile field for communism. But few countries have undergone more rapid changes in psychological attitudes than has Brazil since the revolution of 1931 which gave the presidency to Dr. Getulio Vargas. Politically rather than socially minded, he was content until recently to walk a middle road, allowing the various schools of thought certain liberty so long as they did not threaten directly the government. A strong fascist organization, the *Integralistas,* was allowed to develop to the point where it claimed to be the dominant power in several states and held national conventions in which its programs were boldly and openly acclaimed. A nationalistic society, *Los Amigos de Alberto Torres,* opposed to all foreigners but especially to Japanese, also acquired considerable political power. At the same time private sources began to report that a strong group of young officers in the army and navy, as well as an increasing number of young intellectuals, were being converted to communism. São Paulo, the main industrial and manufacturing center, began to witness public demonstrations of a communistic nature. A serious strike of government postal workers in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in December, 1934, threatened the discipline of federal employees. The government became frightened at radicalism and the police organized a special department to combat it. Conservative influences began to advocate fascism, Archbishop João Becker of Porto Alegre declaring in a sermon:

> I pray to God that in the present international controversy intrepid Italy, land of genius, science and art, may not be humiliated. I also pray to God to protect fascist Rome, the pope's Rome, eternal Rome, Christianity's seat [*New York Times,* Nov. 8, 1935].

Following the uprising against the Vargas government in 1936 a red hunt was instituted and prisons were filled with political prisoners. The national Congress sent a message of congratulation to the Spanish fascist, Colonel Franco, a few weeks after the beginning of his rebellion.

Paraguay, in the heart of the continent, with no seacoast, has its small group of workers and parlor bolshevists in Asunción. The best organized labor unions seem to be holding themselves aloof from " red " ideology. The country is chiefly agricultural. Sovietism is foreign to the mentality of the people; there are few large private fortunes.

Early in 1931 Dr. Kreidt and a handful of followers seized the city of Encarnación and were said to be working in the interests of Sovietism, but they were soon forced back across the border and constituted no serious threat. During the war, whatever radicalism developed in opposition to military rule was quickly silenced. But the voice of the radical will probably be heard in the difficult days of reorganization following peace in the Chaco. The establishment of a fascist regime by Colonel Franco, following his coup d'état in the early part of 1936, is typical of the situation in almost all these Southern lands where old-fashioned dictatorships, decked with a bit of new social phraseology, are maintaining themselves in spite of radical opposition.

WILL COMMUNISM SUCCEED?

Is communism likely to succeed in establishing itself in any part of Hispanic America? Do the history and psychology of Hispanic Americans argue for or against communism? The answers to these questions are as divergent in Latin America as they are in the United States — and, I suppose one might say, in the Soviet Union, since the adoption of communism there seems to have been forced by a minority of the population.

Let us remember, first, that the Indians who composed the Inca empire were communists in the sense that they held their land in common. So also did the Aztecs in Mexico and the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, which only copied the general custom. Each year the Inca sovereign divided the land into three parts, one consecrated to the sun god, one to the royal family, and the last to the people themselves. They even specialized in cultivating certain crops for the whole group, thus having diversified food, including the choice bits of beef from the royal herds which the emperor caused to be distributed from time to time to all his followers. Great warehouses were located at convenient points where extra supplies were placed to wait against famine or other sudden need. Wool was distributed from royal storehouses. Strict laws preserving game, cattle, guano and other supplies demonstrated how a "planned society" could bring a high average of comfort. This highly organized society — which of course knew no individual liberty — was destroyed by the Spaniard.

But so far as the land itself is concerned, while much of it went to private holders, one authority estimates that nearly two-thirds of the highland Indians of Peru, Bolivia and Chile still live on communal property.[1] Land is the most precious of their possessions; parents have been known to sell their children rather than part with the land. I well remember a visit to an Araucanian chief of southern Chile during the World War. I endeavored to get him excited about the immense guns that were being used in Europe and the large numbers of people employed in the offensives. He would listen for a little while but always he would come back to the appeal: "*¡ Mas mi tierra,*

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[1] George M. McBride, *Indians of Latin America* (New York, 1929), p. 98.

señor, mi tierra!" ("But my land! How can you help me to get it back?") Tradition is strong with the Indian and though he was robbed of his land hundreds of years ago he still longs for it and is tempted to follow anyone who promises its return. This, then, is one argument in favor of communism, so far as the agricultural Indian is concerned.

The Iberian section of the population is of somewhat different temper. Early law and custom in Spain and Portugal gave the crown a considerable control over property, religion, art and education. From the thirteenth century the crown declared itself the owner of the subsoil and therefore claimed the right to dispose by concession of all mineral rights. This right is still held by most Latin-American countries, where mines are worked by private capital only as concessions from the state. It was Mexico's insistence on a return to this ancient law that brought the violent contest with North American petroleum interests, who claimed that when they acquired the land they also acquired the subsoil. As for religion, it is interesting to see how in the early colonial days their most Catholic majesties were very careful to retain direction of the church. The papacy was not allowed even to publish a bull or to erect a church without the consent of the crown.

Cultural life, including education, art and printing, was supposedly under the direction of the church, but the final authority in these matters was reserved to the crown. The same may be said of economic life, liberty of commercial exchange not being allowed by the crown, which required all merchandise to pass through specially designated ports in Spain and America. Even since the days of independence Latin-American governments have continued to direct much of the life of their people. There is little room for private initiative. Government-owned railroads, telegraph lines, steamships, port works, banks, theaters and other public services are common. It would seem, then, that a socialistic government which does much for its people is not as far away from Iberian and Indian ideology as it is from that of the Anglo-Saxon.

The arguments against communism in Latin America begin with the fact, emphasized by all students of Hispanic people, that the Southerner's outstanding characteristic is individualism. Conversely, the Anglo-Saxon is largely swayed by his devotion to a " cause " and will neglect his fireside to promote an organization. If the reader protests that these statements are contrary to some of the things mentioned above we can only remind him that opposing psychological characteristics are often found within the same people.

The great organizing, unifying North Americans, for example, have developed to the extreme " rugged individualism." This apparent contradiction comes from other characteristics — for with all the Anglo-Saxon's genius for organization, his regard for private property is a primal part of his acquisitive nature; personal devotion to his own business is a sacred duty. Thus is developed this apparent contradiction; the individual insists upon his right to organize uncontrolled by social forces, and fails to recognize the rights of the great number of individuals who make up society. The Latin-American individualist, on the other hand, is perfectly willing to let his government organize the big business ventures, and will even refrain from serious complaint against a dictator so long as he confines his dictating to public affairs and allows the individual to live unmolested his private life. So the argument that Latin Americans, as individualists, are opposed to socialized programs, cannot be given too much weight.

OBSTACLES TO COMMUNISM

There are stronger arguments against communism. First, there is the lack of a strong national capitalistic class to direct an industrialized order. Then, in Latin America there is no proletariat in the Russian sense. There is not the least feeling of unity between city and country workmen — the former often feeling themselves partners to the privileged classes who live off the exploited rural workers. The almost complete lack of any feeling of solidarity among the various exploited groups has been the despair of communist organizers. Even in the countries where labor is best organized only a very small percentage of workmen are in the unions and the latter are often hopelessly divided, the number of small groups sometimes running into hundreds in a single country. This is why communism, as a movement, has up to the present done little more in Latin

America than gain theoretical converts among groups of intellectuals, stir discontent among the lower classes, and organize strikes or rebellions which have usually been crushed by government forces. Then of course as long as these countries depend so completely on capital from the United States, the latter, in spite of all the protests of the nationalists, will exert a strong influence against any practical advances of communism. The well informed know how true this has been in Cuba, Mexico and other countries during recent years.

As long as the government is unrelentingly reactionary, communism grows. But as soon as the official program becomes liberal or allows a liberal opposition, nationalism asserts itself, Russian influence is renounced and the reformers, like the Grove party in Chile, the ABC in Cuba, the National Revolutionary party in Mexico, the Apra in Peru, begin to work on their own particular program. Communism, so far at least, has been the forerunner of radicalism, only to see itself later displaced by some new form of national socialism. However, the recent change of tactics in which the suppression of efforts to foment internal revolutions is promised, and an alliance with liberal democratic groups against fascism is sought, may mean a considerable enlargement of communist influence.

During the last two years the Soviet Union's policy of financial and intellectual direction abroad seems to have been greatly softened. Stalin and his cohorts have become alarmed at the growth of their deadly enemy, fascism, and have decided that their only salvation is through co-operation with democratic governments and liberal groups. Russia's joining the League of Nations and the Third International's coquetting with liberal groups to unite with them in forming the *frente único,* are two indications of new tactics. These tactics are already having favorable effect on the development of communistic parties as national organizations in various Latin-American countries. But the earlier open preachments of violent destruction not only of governments but of life and property of the bourgeois has thoroughly frightened the middle classes in every Latin-American country. There is no doubt that supporters of law and order, of religion and of the rights of individuals have become thoroughly convinced that communism is against all of these, and are therefore honestly and thoroughly opposed to its being permitted to function in Latin America.

This strong fear of what many believe is the greatest enemy to American ideals makes them easy victims to reactionary political, economic and clerical groups who point out all liberals as communists. Likewise, on the other hand, such injustice to liberals has a tendency to give them larger sympathy with communists and to turn them to the united front of all leftists as the only possible line of battle when all conservative forces unite in a refusal to cede an inch in social change.

This situation has perfect illustration in Latin America's present attitude toward the Spanish revolution. When the republic was formed in 1931 there was great rejoicing; at last the *madre patria* had turned from reaction and set her face toward the democracy which her children had adopted a century ago. The same intellectuals who had in times past upheld in Latin-American universities the glories of Hispanic culture now returned as diplomats representing the new Madrid government, directed by " scholars in politics." When the reactionary elements struggled against measures to take the public schools from the church, the great estates from the royalists, and the enormous graft from the generals, Latin America cheered the reformers. They were only fighting the same battles in the old country that had been fought so often in the new. But by the skillful use of propaganda against bolshevism the attitude even of many Latin-American liberals has been recently shifted to opposition to the Spanish government.

The facts seem to be:

When the United States swiftly and thoroughly defeated Spain in 1898, the country was rudely awakened to the fact that it was suffering from a hopelessly antiquated government and social organization. But the reactionary forces represented by the church, the monarchists, the owners of great estates and the army would not budge from their position of complete control of the nation. The storm of discontent broke on April 18, 1931, when following the election of a liberal ticket, King Alfonso XIII abdicated and stole away in the darkness to his exile. Following this bloodless revolution, the " scholars in politics " began to function. A new Constitution, modeled after the Mexican document, announced the separation of church and state, the agreement to settle international questions through the League of Nations, and the right of suffrage for women.

The new government moved slowly but surely for a large reduction in the army and for a great new program of public health and education. But before the slow-moving liberals had fairly begun to carry out these reforms, there was an uprising of the clericals, rich property owners and military elements. Again in 1935 the liberal elements moved to take power. Realizing the hopelessness of divided councils as they faced a united conservative group, the minority group of syndicalists and communists signed a pact with the large progressive party led by Manuel Azaña that, if triumphant, the combination would rule under the Constitution, carry forward their reforms in a legal way and not confiscate private property without pay. They won the elections held February, 1936, by a large majority.

Almost immediately the leading generals in the army, backed by various clerical authorities, began to plan a revolution. When a duly elected and constitutional government was fighting, its back to the wall, to save Spanish democracy both from the onslaughts of its enemies of the right and from the excessive demands of revolutionaries commonly called "red," at that very moment the privileged classes, the army and the church, in order to salvage their own material interests, made common cause in an attack upon the government, deliberately unloosed a reign of terror, in which both sides have since had an equal share of guilt, deliberately opened the gates to the revolution of untutored and infuriated masses bent upon wiping out democratic government and establishing the supreme domination of the proletariat.

In July, 1936, the fighting began. It looked as though such a thorough preparation and such complete enlistment of the army, with the backing of the powerful vested interests, would mean certain victory for the rebels. This was especially true when Italian airplanes carried great numbers of Moorish mercenaries from north Africa to fight against the government. But the common soldiers and sailors often refused to follow their leaders and the organized workers in the cities and the peasants in the country demanded guns to defend the government.

While the middle-of-the-road socialist government, accused of lack of vigor, admitted to the Cabinet on September 5 a representative each of the communist and syndicalist parties, they came under the pre-election agreement to rule under the Constitution.

The conservatives have received much aid from the fascist governments of Italy, Germany and Portugal, and some of the leaders are themselves avowed fascists, hopeful of turning Spain from any social reform. They seem largely to represent the same old combination of church, military and landed interests that has struggled for centuries to control the Latin countries. In a statement given to the London press a distinguished Roman Catholic, Sr. Ossorio y Gallardo, after referring to himself as " a sincere Christian," goes on to blame the government for not pushing its reforms more rapidly, adding that Spain, with these reforms, is destined to experience a new spiritual birth.

But Latin-American governments that have lately departed from democratic procedure, clericals who desire freedom only for themselves, ultramontanes who believe humanity must be protected from itself by keeping government and property in the hands of the elite, give out the impression that the Spanish government is entirely red, that it encourages the burning of churches, the raping of nuns, and the destruction of all that decent people hold dear in life. All the provocations by a reactionary revolutionary group, which used churches as storehouses for their munitions, priests as secret revolutionary agents and notorious exploiters of the poor as paymasters, are hushed. Every citizen is asked to unite with the church and all decent forces to move against communism — and the government of Spain and communism are named as one. Heretofore every Spanish-American government has laid great emphasis on the necessity of its neighbors' giving no assistance whatever to any revolutionary forces but, on the contrary, aiding in every possible way the constituted authorities. No doctrine of international law has been quite so insistently emphasized as this one. But reactionary forces have so presented the Spanish situation that governments, with the one exception of Mexico, refuse to sell the Madrid government necessary defense material. Uruguay broke diplomatic relations, Argentina threatens the same, and Brazil sends congratulations to the rebel general Franco.

However, the long debate in the Argentine Congress, during the latter part of 1936 and the early part of 1937, on the bill against communism proposed by the government, shows the growing awareness among friends of freedom of the trick of using laws against communism as a legal defense for the persecution of all liberal-minded people. Senator Lisandro de la Torre, so brilliant and so well known that the government did not dare suppress him, openly declared that the proposed bill had the sole purpose of giving the government a chance to pursue its enemies. He declared that " for four years the Senate had allowed the original bill on the subject of communism to languish, and now the government has included it in the agenda for the extraordinary session, more or less as Lazarus took up his bed, and here it is in the Senate." He asked whether this bill treated in reality of suppression of communism, and whether it was believed that a communist party sufficiently strong to be dangerous really existed in the country. Apparently, he said, any man who preserves the smallest degree of democratic sentiment is a communist. Considerable hilarity was caused by Dr. de la Torre's description of the committee report as showing the poverty of Job in the matter of ideas and a Croesus-like wealth of platitudes. He declared that the minister of education had discharged a professor in the university for no other reason than that the professor had liberal ideas and that " if Jesus Christ came to your home, you would not let him in, because you would think he was a communist. The apostle Paul you would probably admit, because he was a conservative, a member of your same party no doubt."

While therefore a careful survey of the situation indicates that communism has developed little strength of its own in Latin America, it is equally true that its new policy of the *frente único* might well increase that power, especially if innocent liberals awaken to find themselves being used to pull the chestnuts of reactionaries from a furnace that now threatens to consume all the products of democracy.

XVI

SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE

LESS THAN two decades ago Latin America was generally regarded by the outside world as a closed unit with respect to religion. On the one hand the popular view prevailed that the entire population of the twenty republics was included if not in the membership at least in the accepted faith and ministries of the Roman church, and was virtually committed to the exclusive tutelage of Catholic Christianity. On the other hand, in circles more realistically oriented in the religious history of these " turbulent democracies," a contrary view was concernedly and widely voiced, namely, that spiritual interests in Latin America were at an exceedingly low ebb — in some sections decadent to the point of extinction. Under a tide of political conflict and social depression, it was declared, vital religion had lost its hold upon the masses and life in general had become secularized and sordid. In particular, it was pointed out, the refined *ilustrados,* the five or six millions of intellectuals who constituted the real leadership of the republics, had not only broken with the church but also, in the main, had rejected all religion as unnecessary if not pernicious — a superstition of the past, eaten away by " the acids of modernity " and " in none of its forms worthy of the attention of free and educated men."

There was much truth in both of these generalizations, although neither of them, nor both combined, adequately described the real state of affairs. Official statistics continued to count almost the whole population as allied with religious organizations, but they gave no hint of the enormous extent to which such affiliation was merely nominal or prudential; still less did they reveal the deep revolt against ecclesiastical authority, the immense and cumulative defection, in conviction and sympathy, from traditional and institutional Christianity which has characterized the intelligentsia since the wars of independence.

The dominant attitude of the governing and cultured classes, from the foundation of the republics to the outbreak of the World War, was one not only of irreconcilable estrangement from the historic church with all its works and doctrines, but usually of disillusioned indifference, and in some countries even of aggressive hostility toward teachers of religion. Few men habitually attended the cathedrals, and religion was a subject often taboo in elite society. The legislators, writers and scholars were molded largely by the early nineteenth-century educational tradition — secular, anticlerical, humanistic, scientific — which the politically emancipated republics derived from Europe, chiefly from France and England. This was the new culture of " liberalism " which, not without protesting voices, was hailed by the most radical *caudillos* as an adequate gospel for the new nations. Its formative texts were the works of the French Encyclopedists and of Auguste Comte, Jeremy Bentham, Herbert Spencer and Ernest Renan.

With the widespread acceptance of such naturalistic doctrines of the universe, history, society and man came negation of spiritual values, rejection of Christianity, repudiation of all that had passed as religion in the Americas since Columbus and the Franciscan friars set up the cross on the heights of Hispaniola. The sequel was the attempt of a century to develop ideal commonwealths on a foundation that was avowedly utilitarian and secular.

The church has of course fought this movement with all its power, at times with the noble weapons of the spirit, at times with the sword, either placed directly into the hands of its sons, or indirectly in the form of provision for conservative military forces, loans and other economic measures. A small group of " evangelists of liberalism," although they were usually excommunicated by the church, has also waged the battle against utilitarianism. Such were Juan Montalvo (1833–89) of Ecuador who said that " a sane and pure democracy has need of Jesus Christ "; Francisco Bilbao (1823–65) of Chile who believed that " the first word of the sovereign people is God "; Vigil, a Peruvian priest who broke with the church but continued as a man of letters to maintain that " the gospel is the religion of every good man, but the gospel as it existed in the head and heart of Jesus Christ"; Agustín Álvarez (1857–1917) of Argentina who, in advocating as necessary for his people a liberal and spiritual religion, declared:

> The mother country did us greater harm by prohibiting in America the cultivation of ideas and the sentiments of tolerance than it did by prohibiting the cultivation of the vine and the olive. . . . Thus liberal Protestantism, leaving to man his best aptitude and amplitude for lay progress, has formed the colonizing races which, by their greater resources for dominating nature and exploiting the soil, have enriched and extended themselves to all continents.

Other eminent patriots, statesmen and educators, while without a positive religious message themselves, have lifted their voices in ardent solicitude regarding the inner life and religious goal of the masses.

NEW MOVEMENTS

In the struggle for a spiritual basis for life there arose two organized movements opposed equally by the church and the secularists — positivism and spiritualism. Both of these movements began to develop definite organizations in Brazil more than half a century ago, the first in 1870 and the second in 1873. In 1897 the national Positivist church dedicated in Rio de Janeiro a beautiful temple to humanity with the following sentiment carved over its door: "Love the principle, order the basis, progress the end." It belongs to no sect, makes no open attack on Roman Catholicism and gives room both to science and faith. Its growth is now practically stationary. Spiritualism, on the other hand, is increasing considerably, especially among the humble classes, in every country in the South. In Brazil the number of adherents in 1920 was reported as 260,864 in 103 societies. Twelve years later the Brazilian federation reported 308 societies, an estimate which did not include an ever increasing number of small groups that meet in private residences. The fact that the Greek Orthodox church, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism and other cults all exist in considerable strength, signifies that these lands are becoming as cosmopolitan religiously as they have become racially.

Protestantism began its first activities in South America in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1809 Brazil signed a treaty with Great Britain granting it the privilege of erecting a Protestant chapel for its citizens in Rio de Janeiro. In 1824 the German colonists began to enter Brazil and build evangelical churches. Large Protestant churches are now open in all the capitals and in many other cities of Latin America. In 1818 James Thompson, an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society of the Lancastrian schools, was received in Buenos Aires with great enthusiasm and afterward made an honorary citizen, as he was later in Chile. In Bogotá he organized a Bible society whose membership included a number of Catholic clergymen. North American and British mission societies began to do evangelistic work among the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking people some seventy-five years ago — Chile, 1845; Brazil, 1855; Colombia, 1856; Argentina, 1867; Mexico, 1867. Much of this work was begun at the request of government officials or of groups of prominent citizens, desiring help either in the struggle for religious liberty or in the education of their children.

With the opening of the Panama canal and the growth of interest in Latin America, the evangelical forces met in Panama in a Congress on Christian Work, February, 1916, to make a careful study of Southern civilization and the part Protestants should play in its development. The Committee on Co-operation in Latin America was organized and since that time the major part of the work of the churches, schools, hospitals and social activities has been developed under this organization. Regional committees on co-operation unify the work in the various countries where are conducted union theological seminaries, bookshops, literature programs, colleges, hospitals and community services of various kinds.

In countries like Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Mexico the churches begun by missionaries have now become independent of foreign control, electing their own bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities, and working out their own programs. The strongest evangelical movement is in Brazil, where the total constituency is seven million, including three hundred thousand Germans and other foreign colonists. In Mexico the constituency, numbering one hundred thousand, has recently become much more alive under the laws restricting religious activities as a result of being forced to abandon routine activities for new and more vital programs.

In his important work on *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States,* Professor William Spence Robertson, of the University of Illinois, says:

> Another factor in the transmission of North American educational doctrines to Hispanic-American countries has been the activity there of several Protestant sects. As the labor of each of those sects was largely directed to the extension of its own particular type of Christian faith, the activities of Methodists, Presbyterians, and other sects in Hispanic-American countries partook of the character of propaganda. This Protestant propagandism in lands which were nominally Catholic and where Roman Catholicism was ordinarily the religion of the state was naturally bound, under certain circumstances at least, to arouse criticism and even to provoke some antagonism. Still those Protestant missionaries who have zealously preached and faithfully taught in Hispanic America have served to make the citizens of that region and United States citizens better acquainted with each other; they have spread the Protestant faith and disseminated the educational ideas of the United States in Hispanic-American countries; and they have also conveyed to the United States a knowledge of Hispanic-American conditions, customs and ideas.

In the light of the tremendous power of materialism, the ardent Roman Catholic writer, Gabriela Mistral of Chile, has recently made the following appeal for Roman Catholic and Protestant co-operation:

> Spanish America has two dominant currents, Catholicism and materialism. The materialistic current in our countries is enormous. It counts as adepts the great majority of the educators of our youth. Our church should remember its essential unity of interest with Protestantism and consider that it loses infinitely less when the freethinker is evangelized than when the youth of Catholic blood embraces atheism with the fervor of a Roman gladiator. Sooner or later, in an hour of travail, these two branches of the faith of Christ will come to understand that their fighting each other is the greatest misfortune for all the peoples of Spanish America.

RELIGION SINCE THE WORLD WAR

Within the present century there has been among the leaders a change of attitude and a movement toward religion which may be described as a spiritual renaissance. It became distinctly articulate during the World War. That cosmic calamity struck to the depths of the Latin-American soul and had awakening repercussions in all the Southern lands. As the distinguished publicist, Dr. Mariano H. Carnejo, addressing the Peruvian government, said: " It brought to fresh judgment all religious and scientific dogmas, all moral values, all the utopias that Latin Americans have conceived."

Before the collapse of the material stability, political supports, intellectual sanctions and religious restraints of European culture, Latin-American thinkers were roused to re-examine their own theories of life and civilization. Writers in both the Andean and Atlantic republics began to expose with solicitude the actual social structure, the political procedure, the racial ethos, the national ideals and relationships of their respective countries, with prophetic exhortation to renovation and reform, and alluring forecast of the role the Latin-American peoples may play in the higher life of the world. Alfredo Colmo, Argentine sociologist, threw the light of science over the gulf that yawned between the intellectual brilliance of the Latin-American peoples and their moral and spiritual achievement. With the verve of an evangelist he sought to rekindle their desire for deeper experience and a higher mission. Other writers, like the great Peruvian publicist F. García Calderón, lamented the depreciation of ideals, and summoned their nations to " spiritual awakening to escape retrogression and submergence in the sea of materialism and pessimism that threatened to overwhelm them." Enrique González Martínez, Mexican poet and diplomat, declares:

> Yesterday, the Latin-American peoples were only a hope, hardly a presentment. Branches of two strong trees injected in a primitive trunk of the aborigines, we represented an unknown power, silent, without voice, largely hidden from the directive forces of the world. Today we are emerging a real power, a concrete affirmation. Yesterday the peoples who possessed ancient culture could eliminate us from the chess table of their complicated political combinations and their refined diplomacy. Today they need to count on us, risking, if inadvertently they pass us by, a real limitation on their future. . . . Peoples, like individuals, do not live by bread alone. We ought to remember that along with gold and silver, nitrates and petroleum, livestock and agriculture, for which the hand of Europe recently stricken and almost starving reaches out toward us, we have also a contribution to make to the spiritual life which is now so lacking in the world.

These new aspirations and insurgencies mark a fresh creative outburst of the Latin-American spirit. The older philosophies of Positivism, Naturalism and Secularism no longer command the major interest of the intellectuals. The younger generation of students, scholars and thinkers have deserted Comte, Guyau and even Rodó, and have come under the influence of Bergson, Boutroux, William James, Tolstoi, Romain Rolland, and the great Spanish prophet and mystic, Miguel de Unamuno.

The present movement is no mere individualistic impulse of romantic world-flight born of despair — such as that which arose a generation ago when men like Gonzáles Prada of Peru mercilessly exposed the evils of Latin-American society but saw no solution; nor, with Casal, the Cuban lyrist, does it wail:

> If I look to the horizon all is dark,
> If I bend to the earth all is mud.

The new quest is warm with social passion, activity and hope. Thus Gabriela Mistral pours out her longings in her " Prayer of a Teacher ":

> Lord, Thou who didst teach, forgive that I also teach, that I bear the name teacher, the name which Thou didst bear upon the earth!
>
> Give me a singleness of love for my school, a love which not even the ardent vision of beauty itself can for one moment rob of its tenderness.
>
> Grant, Master, that my devotion may be enduring and my discouragement but for the moment. Take from me this desire for justice by which I am still moved, this petty spirit of protest which rises within me when I am wounded. May neither the lack of understanding, nor the forgetfulness of those I teach, sadden me.
>
> Grant that I may be more mother than the mother herself in my love and defense of those who are not flesh of my flesh. May my pupils be my most perfect verse, and may I leave in them my most melodious song, against that day when my lips no longer sing.
>
> Lord, fulfill Thy gospel in my time, that I may not falter in the daily and hourly struggle. Upon my lowly school make to shine the splendor which fell upon Thy group of barefoot little ones.
>
> Make me strong, strong even in my weakness as woman, and poor woman; enable me to despise all power that is not from Thee, all pressure but that of Thine ardent will.
>
> May my humble school of brick and stone be transformed into a temple of the Spirit! May the flame of my enthusiasm envelop its lowly atrium and fill its bare room! May my heart and my endeavor be to it a more abiding support than the strongest pillars or the finest gold of the schools of the lofty!

A phase of the revival is the new energy and enterprise of the Roman church in several of the leading countries. Ears which have long been sealed are open to its message, and multitudes once alienated or indifferent are returning to its fold in quest of light and truth. In some of the more advanced countries it is slowly moving out from the gloom of the cloisters into new programs of social action near to the heart and need of modern Latin America. Some of its priests, " alive to the awakened religious sensibility," are delivering, in theaters, forums and public halls, addresses on religion which are broadcasted by radio to millions.

EVIDENCES OF NEW SPIRIT

Perhaps the most dramatic and impressive evidence of the quickened vitality and renascent appeal of Catholicism was the memorable Eucharistic Congress of 1934 in Buenos Aires — acknowledged metropolis of Ibero-American materialism and anticlericalism, which through a dozen decades had not only well-nigh stifled the church, but had spread its withering breath to every other Latin-American land from Cuba to the Golden Horn. That colossal congress, convened in the heart of the city, was welcomed with open arms. Vast delegations from many parts of the continent joined the tens of thousands in attendance from the capital and the provinces. Around a gigantic white altar surmounted by a towering illuminated cross, erected in the principal park, more than a million worshipers, filling the thoroughfares that converged upon the square, knelt in adoration and prayer in services marked by such fervor as had not been known since the early Catholic apostolates had their golden bloom in the overseas colonies. Nor was this convocation, which included many of the foremost leaders of the nations, a mere display of personal piety or mystic pageantry; it issued in constructive consideration of the new conditions now confronting the church in Latin America, and in clear declaration of the conviction that true Christianity will solve all human need. " Catholic Action " is a new movement whose aim is to make the life of individual Catholics a true expression of Christian principles, that these may in turn transform the social life of the nations. It has developed in various

Latin-American countries, with especial strength in Argentina, and holds much of the hope of the Catholics for a revival of their faith.

Three meetings held in the magnificent municipal theaters of South America signify the new interest. One was convoked by the Roman Catholic church in the Teatro Colón of Buenos Aires to celebrate " the Day of the Gospel," at which the foremost Catholic orator in Argentina, speaking to a great crowd, pronounced a flaming eulogy on the Bible and on Christ, declaring him " the savior of the nation, and the hope of the world." Not only in Argentina, but in Brazil, Chile and Mexico, have Catholic authorities, reversing former attitudes, advised the reading of the Scriptures and provided cheap official editions.

The second meeting, held in the same place, was a gathering of some three thousand to honor Dr. Ricardo Rojas on the occasion of his completing a quarter of a century as a writer. The meeting included the president of the republic, his ministers of state and the cream of the nation's culture. Dr. Rojas, in his epoch-making book *El Cristo invisible,* " The Invisible Christ," dreams of the Christianization of Latin America in order that it may lead the rest of the world into a new understanding of Christ. " The association of citizens in a democracy like ours," he says, " can form a religious brotherhood in the fullest sense. The afflicted world is waiting amid the darkness for a message of hope. How great would be our joy were that message to reach it from this Latin America of ours."

The third gathering, in the Municipal Theater of Brazil's capital, Rio de Janeiro, welcomed the quadrennial meeting of the World's Sunday School Association in 1932. This was the first world religious conference to convene in a Latin-American country. Representatives of thirty-eight nations spent ten days in that city, enjoying the cordial hospitality of government, press and private groups, studying the problems of religious education for the coming generation the world around.

A distinguished group of lecturers on spiritual questions from all parts of the world have recently attracted crowds of intellectuals, students and thinking people of all classes. A young Spanish Jesuit, Father Laburu, came to South America and delivered in two universities a series of lectures on evolution. He then went to a church and presented a series of evangelical addresses. Without any preliminaries he would ascend the pulpit, make an impassioned appeal for the religious life, and leave as silently as he had come, with no suggestion of religious ceremony. In Mexico City, specially trained priests give lectures at theaters on Sunday mornings with no ritual of any kind.

Even some of the young revolutionists have recently ranged themselves on the side of religion. While asking for the complete separation of church and state, they defend the religious sentiment as a powerful weapon for reform when properly developed. In a pamphlet on *Aprismo y religión,* Luis Alberto Sánchez tells of how surprised he was recently to discover the amount of teaching on social questions in the Old and New Testaments. He claims that Marx struggled not against religion itself but against its temporal connections with systems of exploitation.

Evangelical lecturers like Dr. John Mackay, Dr. Stanley Jones and Dr. George P. Howard have been heard in recent years in university auditoriums, in great theaters and public halls. Dr. Howard has become one of the most popular radio speakers in South America, accomplishing the supposedly impossible by presenting religious topics so attractively as to break all records in the matter of response from the invisible audience.

But the spiritual renaissance in Latin America is not confined to an awakened interest in Christianity. There has been a widespread turning to various cults of mysticism, occultism, spiritualism, humanistic idealism and eclecticism; especially the religious philosophies of the Orient have attracted a large following under the spell of teachers like Rabindranath Tagore and Count Keyserling and of theosophical leaders from India like Jinarajadasa, who has made two triumphal tours addressing large audiences in universities and public auditoriums. His first series of lectures has been published in Spanish under the title *Dioses en cadenas,* "Gods in Chains." Theosophy, this volume explains, is a synthesis of the best thought of the ancient religions, philosophies and mysticisms. It is a science of nature. Man is God — but God in chains; man must throw off these chains, for each man is for himself the way, the truth and the life.

The astonishing thing about religion in these countries during the last decade is that theosophy and spiritualism have grown more rapidly than has Roman Catholicism or Protestantism. Oriental occultism is gaining over Occidental Christianity. Perhaps it is to be expected that when an awakened spiritual hunger begins to show itself after a hundred years of bleak materialism, it should desire, not so much a return to organization and ritual and ecclesiastical form, but rather a loose, expansive creed which accepts truths from all religions and guarantees that there shall be no heresy hunts. Neither Roman Catholicism, with its hierarchy's insistence on spiritual dictation, nor Protestantism, with its present anarchy of denominationalism, seems fitted to capture the growing group of Latin Americans who search for God but who suspect every turn of the ecclesiastical machine. There are those who believe that the issue lies very clearly between a new interpretation of Christianity on the one hand and some form of Oriental mysticism on the other. The clear and dynamic factor in the situation is that the deep heart of these countries is seeking new springs of reality and power.

Unfortunately for religion, there is likewise a resurgence of secularism in the new garbs of nationalism, of Marxism, of the totalitarian state, of the supremacy of economics and science, which challenges every spiritual influence in these Southern lands. Some of these new influences, like communism, fascism and race-ism, have so captured the devotion of their followers and so thoroughly organized their propaganda that they may themselves be looked upon as missionary forces of new religions.

XVII

INTERNATIONAL HORIZONS

When more favorable circumstances afford us more frequent communications and closer relations, we shall hasten, with the liveliest interest, to set on foot, on our part, the American covenant which, by forming one political body of all our republics, shall present America to the world with an aspect of majesty and greatness without parallel among the ancient nations. America, thus united, will be able to call herself the queen of nations, the mother of republics.

THUS WROTE Simón Bolívar to Supreme Director Pueyrredón of Argentina in 1818 — an illustration of the fact that a hundred years before the world agreed to form at Geneva a collective system to maintain international peace, the American continent had begun working on that problem.

FIRST STEPS

In 1822 Colombia initiated a series of treaties with other American nations — the first modern agreements to arbitrate all differences that might arise. In 1826 the first conference in history met in Panama to consider a league of nations among democratic peoples. Although that conference failed, it defined ideals which were written into the Covenant of the League of Nations a century later. The lack of communications and the overwhelming problems of national organization which for so many decades faced each one of the nascent republics were not allowed to dim the vision. The second American congress met in Lima in 1847; the third in Santiago in 1856; a fourth in Lima in 1865.

Several other purely Latin-American conferences were held, notably two for the purpose of codification of international law in Lima in 1874 and in Montevideo in 1888. Each one of these studied bases for international government on the American continent. Unfortunately, the United States did not participate in the conferences. The fate of our delegates to the

Panama gathering of 1826 was told in the chapter on " Foreign Interference." In 1847 we were too interested in certain events in Mexico to send peace envoys to Lima. In 1856 a mild-voiced gentleman from Tennessee, little known in the United States but notorious in Latin America, William Walker, was filibustering in Central America under the quasi-approval of Washington. In 1865 civil war in our own land absorbed national attention.

It is easily understood that the growth of an " American system," for which Henry Clay as well as the Spanish Americans were pleading, was not aided by that spirit of " manifest destiny " described by President Buchanan in his message to Congress in 1858: " It is beyond question the destiny of our race to spread themselves over the continent of North America and this at no distant day, should events be permitted to take their natural course." Following the Civil War, however, the United States began to take a greater interest in the development of friendly relations with Latin America. The political federation proposed by the Southerners had failed, but the United States was now ready to propose the way of trade. Leadership passed from the theoretical Latins to the practical Anglo-Saxon; a new word, " Pan-Americanism," was coined; a real fellowship through commercial exchange, with political questions banished from the agenda — this was the goal.

The first of this new series of conferences, popularly called Pan-American but officially known as International Conferences of American States, was held in 1889 in Washington. All the American republics except Santo Domingo were represented. It lasted four months, largely because of the colorful debates between the delegations of the United States and Argentina. The proposal of the United States for an American customs union was not pushed because of the suspicion it aroused in various Southern countries. Recommendations were made relating to reciprocity treaties, postal communications, customs regulations, port duties, the free navigation of American rivers, sanitary regulations, a monetary union, weights and measures, patents and trademarks, an international American bank, an intercontinental railway, the extradition of criminals, arbitration and several other matters. No definite results were achieved, however, except the establishment of the International Bureau of American Republics in Washington for the collection and publication of information relating to the commerce, products, laws and customs of the countries represented. This bureau was the modest beginning of the now well known Pan American Union.

The second conference, held in Mexico City in 1901, showed that the Latin Americans would not be content to neglect political questions. The codification of American international law, the collection of debts, and arbitration were discussed along with commercial questions. The third conference, at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, was notable for the reorganization and enlargement of the Pan American Union and the address of Secretary of State Root in which he promised that the United States "desired no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves." The fourth conference, at Buenos Aires in 1910, approved four treaties, all commercial, relating to trademarks, copyrights, patents and collection of pecuniary claims. The Dominican delegation made an effort to introduce the subject of a continental organization for settling disputes but the subject did not reach the agenda.

The fifth conference, held in Santiago, Chile, in 1923 (after an interval of thirteen years because of the World War), faced a new world with many new international problems. With the example of the League of Nations, of which most of the Latin-American countries were enthusiastic members, the discussion of an American league, as a regional organization related to the Geneva league, became inevitable. Along with that subject, proposed by Uruguay, a number of other political and social questions were introduced by the insistent Southern countries. As the conference proceeded there developed a strong movement toward organization of an American international system. Besides the Uruguay plan, others that were advocated by a bloc of Latin-American nations were the enlargement of the Pan American Union, the formation of an American international court, and the codification of American international law.[1] But all that the conference, acting under the unanimity rule, was able to pass along these lines was the Gondra Pact providing for the appointment of commissions of inquiry to settle disputes under certain limited circumstances, and a resolution " to entrust to the governing board of the Pan American Union the special task of studying the bases . . . to make closer the association of said republics."

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[1] For a detailed discussion of these schemes see S. G. Inman, "Pan-American Conferences and Their Results," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly,* March, 1924.

The sixth Pan-American conference, at Havana, was overwhelmed by the delegation from the United States. Led by the impressive figure of Charles Evans Hughes, journeying to this peace conference on a battleship, and backed by the presence during the first few sessions of President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg, the eight distinguished gentlemen from the North distributed themselves among the eight commissions appointed to deal with the agenda and effectively blocked every effort at a forward pass of the American league ball made by the brilliant but individualistic members of the Spanish-American team. The first week of debate brought such a spirited tilt between Mr. Hughes and the chief of the Argentine delegation, Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón, over the desire of the latter to introduce the question of tariffs and other economic problems into the agenda, that Dr. Pueyrredón forthwith resigned. On the last day, always anticipated as a love fest, the efforts to overcome the objections of the United States delegation to a resolution condemning intervention was productive of such language that parts of the debate had to be expunged from the minutes.

In an impassioned plea at Havana for an enlargement of the functions of the Pan American Union, Dr. Enrique Olaya Herrera of Colombia said:

> Unfortunately the continental policies of America are not carried on upon a basis of sincerity and of frankness; theoretically, the international policy of America is fraternity, but actually it is fear and hate. . . . How many times in the course of diplomatic history in the last decade could timely friendly action have avoided the conflict which afterwards we regretted? . . . And if this is so, gentlemen, why are we alarmed by this timid insinuation that, in the future, states may do this in agreement among themselves? Pan-Americanism must embrace every activity making for peace.

He believed that some day " the union of the peoples of America in an assembly representing all their strength, may serve the peace of peoples, avoid political conflicts, and unite them in an entity of political, economic and cultural interests." In vain however was this appeal. The conference voted that "neither the governing board nor the Pan American Union shall exercise functions of a political nature."

THE NEW ERA

The seventh conference, held at Montevideo in 1933, marked a new era in inter-American relations. Certain steps had been taken to improve these relations before the Montevideo gathering. One was the appointment of a man of caliber, Dwight Morrow, as ambassador to Mexico armed with sufficient liberty and authority to settle the major problems between the two countries and overcome what seemed to be an impasse in their friendly relations. To Ambassador Morrow's work was due much of that close fellowship between the Mexican and United States delegations without which the larger accomplishments of the Montevideo conference would not have been possible.

The second step was the withdrawal, under President Hoover, of the United States marines from Nicaragua.

A third step was taken when Secretary Stimson, reversing the policy of secretaries Hughes and Kellogg, agreed that the League of Nations should act in settling a dispute between two of its member states on the American continent, Colombia and Peru, who were threatening to go to war over the little Amazon town of Leticia. Finally, the reversal of the former policy toward South America of non-recognition of governments established by revolution created a friendlier feeling.

With the advent of the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the appointment of Cordell Hull as secretary of state, definite action under the announced "good neighbor policy" has placed the relations between the United States and Latin America on a better footing in many respects than ever before. To Secretary of State Hull was due much of the success of the Montevideo conference. His quiet, gentlemanly manner; his visits to the Latin-American delegations on the first day to urge harmonious effort to settle the Chaco question; his declaration that the gathering should be open to discuss any question of interest to the American continent; his statement that the

United States government would not associate itself with international bankers to collect debts; his proposal to lower tariffs; his pledge against intervention; and his stand for an unequivocal position on American peace pacts — all these warm, tactful moves explain the deep affection with which practically every delegate regarded him.

That of Montevideo might be called the first real Pan-American conference, the first at which there was an atmosphere of frankness and friendliness in which democratic conclusions, representing the dispassionate opinions of the continent, could be reached. The United States dropped her former feeling and the Latin-American bloc was dissolved in consequence. For, why should the Latin-American nations unite against a common enemy when that enemy had become a friend by agreeing in principle with what they had been contending Pan-Americanism should mean? Again, several of these Southern lands had now developed to the point where they had about as many differences with their sister nations as with the United States. Mexico and Central America felt more at home with us than they did with Argentina. And delegations from some of the smaller countries were as critical of the " imperialism " of the ABC group as in former conferences they had been of Uncle Sam.

For the first time also the League of Nations had a normal place as a world organization of which some of the countries were members and others were not. Since the United States had ceased to invoke the Monroe Doctrine against league activities for its member states in America, those member states had no reason for baiting the United States delegation on this question. Throughout the conference the league was mentioned in connection with peace negotiations between Bolivia and Paraguay. One of the high spots of the conference appeared when the league commission on the Chaco question was introduced to the conference in special sessions, and the chairman of the commission, Dr. Julio Álvarez del Vayo, made a notable address on world co-operation.

The Montevideo conference gave scant time to discussing the Pan American Union; the problem of Chaco peace was paramount. Technically speaking, it actually accomplished little in building an inter-American society of nations. It authorized the organization of a commission of experts to work under a newly created department in the Pan American Union for the codification of international law. It referred for action to the various governments a general peace plan suggested by Mexico. This plan, combining the best features of the five American peace pacts now in force, would provide for the submission of all international differences (1) to a permanent commission of conciliation elected by the American nations through the Pan American Union; (2) to an arbitration board; or (3) to an inter-American court of justice. Before they adjourned, the delegates at Montevideo authorized the next Pan-American conference to study the ways of bettering the service of the Pan American Union. Much related to the peace of America depends on the way these three resolutions are followed up.

RESULTS OF CHANGED ATTITUDE

The fundamental character of these new attitudes may be appreciated by recalling the following fourteen points which show how profound this change has been during the last few years:

(1) The United States has solemnly and formally declared its intention not to intervene in Latin America. At the Pan-American conference in Montevideo, Secretary Hull supported a declaration that " no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another state." The United States Senate later ratified the treaty on the rights of states containing this agreement. (This is the most fundamental victory for peace in America in many years. So long as an intervention policy continued there could be no real Pan-Americanism.)

(2) A new move away from " dollar diplomacy " was especially emphasized at the Montevideo conference by the declaration of Secretary Hull that the United States government did not propose to act as agent of the international bankers in the collection of debts. The partnership of government and bankers in the making and collection of loans has seemingly ceased.

(3) Pan-American conferences have had removed from them the former limitations of discussion placed on them by

the United States, whose delegates had heretofore used their influence to prevent discussion of various topics. At Montevideo much was gained for the Pan-American movement when the United States delegation made the statement that it was willing to treat any question that was of interest to the conference, and introduced the new question of tariffs.

(4) A reversal of the policy of non-recognition of revolutionary governments in Central America and the consequent recognition of the government of El Salvador have done much to clarify the desire of the United States not to dominate Central American countries.

(5) Relations with Panama have been improved by President Roosevelt's invitation to President Arias to visit the White House which resulted in the signing of a new treaty, with new agreements, especially one prohibiting encroachment on the commerce of Panama by the Canal Zone authorities.

(6) An agreement between President Roosevelt and President Vincent of Haiti is about to result in the complete withdrawal of our fiscal intervention (the marines having been withdrawn in the summer of 1934), leaving in Haitian hands the collection of her customs and thus completely returning her sovereignty.

(7) The abrogation of the Platt Amendment — a treaty imposed by force upon a neighboring nation, which, in the minds of Latin Americans, has stood for the most objectionable assertions of the right of intervention.

(8) The complete withdrawal of all United States armed forces from all Latin-American countries.

(9) The approval by the United States Senate of the treaties agreed upon by the Montevideo congress and the signing of tariff treaties with Cuba, Brazil, Colombia, Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

(10) The South American countries have been encouraged to settle their disputes and to form their own commercial and other agreements. Under such encouragement there has developed an important series of conferences and fraternal relations between the governments of South American countries, with the exchange visits of various presidents and ministers of foreign affairs, the signing of several tariff treaties and especially the

acceptance by all South American countries of the Argentine Anti-War Pact.

(11) The peace machinery of the Americas has been strengthened by the new attitude of the United States in agreeing with all other members of the Pan American Union (a) to sign all of the five Pan-American peace pacts; (b) to appoint a permanent commission for the codification of American international law; (c) to study the question of the enlargement of the Pan American Union and the development of a permanent commission on conciliation, an American international court of justice and other peace machinery.

(12) The matter as to whether the United States, appealing to the Monroe Doctrine and article 21 of the league Covenant, would continually limit the league in its functioning in peace negotiations between member states in America was clarified when the United States joined with the other American countries at the Montevideo conference in officially welcoming to the Pan-American conference the league commission working on the settlement of the Chaco War.

(13) Proposal of a plebiscite on the independence of Puerto Rico.

(14) Absolute refusal of the Department of State, for the first time in twenty-five years, to influence presidential elections in Nicaragua.

One hundred and ten years after the first international conference at Panama, the struggle for an American collective system seems nearer than at any other time to eliminating its four greatest enemies — isolation, boundary disputes, the doctrine of continental dominance by the United States, and rivalries between European and American organizations for peace. It should be much easier therefore for the next Pan-American conference to make progress in the development of the "American system" so long envisaged by many of the continent's leading statesmen.

There are, however, two other international systems which, if they are not to develop as serious rivals, must be sympathetically considered and generously integrated into the all-American program. First there is the Latin-American Union, based on the idea that the interests of Hispanic-American nations are similar and as a whole differ fundamentally from those of Anglo-Saxon America. The political, psychological and economic bases for the persistence of this idea from the time of Bolívar to the days of Rodó and Alfredo Palacios have often been pointed out in this book. But today the emphasis placed on this union by the young radical group is the stronger because it is based on economics rather than on passion and prejudice, as indicated by the growing strength of the Apra movement. Tendencies toward political unity are seen in the moving of the Chaco peace parleys from Washington to Buenos Aires, the settling of the Leticia dispute at Rio de Janeiro, the developments around the Argentine peace pact as a substitute for the Kellogg Pact, and the meeting of South American statesmen at Mendoza in January, 1933, when they declared that hereafter South America would settle her own differences without the assistance of outsiders. If the United States should continue its historic policy of continental domination, no doubt the idea of a Latin-American federation would gain ground. But if the more recent policy — which recognizes that the Monroe Doctrine is no longer the primary basis of inter-American diplomacy — should prevail, and if this country should enter heartily into the building of an American international system based on justice and mutual sharing — then the advocates of a Latin-American federation will find it hard sledding. It might be oversimplification to declare that the problem could be solved by swapping the Monroe Doctrine to the Southerners for their idea of a Latin-American federation and putting both schemes into a museum where their admirers could send them flowers. Both ideas, like the yoke of oxen that pulls one's motor car out of the mud, still have some good points. But they become somewhat of a nuisance on a modern international highway.

AMERICA AND THE GENEVA LEAGUE

There remains the important question concerning the relations between the American system and the League of Nations. When that organization was formed, the Latin Americans, idealists and theorists by nature and, as small nations, dependent for protection upon international law rather than upon military force, joined it with enthusiasm. It gave them a recognized place at the table of the nations, a chance to exercise their proclivities in international law, and a forum where they might more openly discuss their problems with their big neighbor to the north. Two discouraging things happened immediately. As the price of the United States' entrance into the league, the other nations were compelled to accept article 21 of the Covenant which declared: "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace." But even after this article was adopted, the United States did not come into the league. She soon, however, made it known to the league and to Latin America that she would not allow Geneva, without considerable unpleasantness, to exercise any power on the American continent.

The sad results of refusing to set up peace machinery in America and at the same time of refusing to allow the league to operate on this continent were especially apparent when the boundary dispute over the Chaco became acute in 1928. Geneva, Washington and Buenos Aires all became belligerents in the battle for peace — while Bolivia and Paraguay played one off against the other until exhaustion stopped the slaughter. This failure of the league, bound by article 21, to help its member states in America, and the lukewarm attitudes of the big powers in dealing with the Ethiopian and Manchurian questions have caused a waning of enthusiasm among those states who in the early days were so filled with zeal for that organization.

The doctrine of continental isolation has usually come from the United States. But now it finds voice in Latin America through such diplomats as Simón Planas Suárez of Venezuela, who has recently written a book of 534 pages given to proving that the American nations should withdraw from the league.[2] Three Central American states, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, have recently resigned from the league. Costa Rica resigned in 1924, after questioning the meaning of article 21 of the Covenant in regard to the Monroe Doctrine. Brazil left when she was refused a permanent seat in the council in 1926.

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[2] *La política europea y la sociedad de las naciones, una advertencia a América* (Barcelona, 1935).

Paraguay served notice of her resignation in 1935. Of course, these resignations were closely associated with internal political shifts, and may likewise be changed again quite suddenly, since there is no inherent prejudice against the league in any of these countries as there is in the United States. The failure of the league to aid a small, defenseless country like Ethiopia has added to the growing feeling that it is a European organization, run by the big European powers, and cannot recompense small American nations for the enormous cost of membership.

Other Latin-American nations have, however, recently shown renewed interest in the league. Argentina, after a long absence, has returned to a vital participation. Indeed it was the Italo-Ethiopian war that compelled Latin America to face realistically its league relationships. To join in the league's sanctions meant real sacrifice for Argentina with its million Italians, and for Venezuela with its oil, Colombia with its coffee, Chile with its nitrate, all anxious for markets. But unlike the United States, they paid the price and joined the European countries in these sanctions. When Italy captured Addis Ababa, it was Argentina that realized that the very life of the league was at stake and requested that the assembly be called to face the sanctions question, instead of leaving it to the council. At that meeting on June 30, 1936, when the whole question of the continuance of the league had to be faced, wholehearted declarations of loyalty to the league were made by Latin-American members. Argentina, "fearing for the good name of the league" in the crisis, pledged itself to "collaborate to secure the work of justice and peace to which this society is dedicated." Colombia defined her friendship with five declarations including "the maintenance of the principle of universality of the league Covenant" along with "the adhesion of the development of regional accords which would facilitate the carrying out of the Covenant."[3]

Panama declared that the lesson had been learned that

> to endeavor to universalize a local conflict is to give it an importance that it does not have and to apply remedies that are not specific is impracticable. . . . The league cannot exist unless it permits the free play of regional interests and organizations. A powerful current in

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[3] *Boletin mensual de la sociedad de las naciones,* June, 1936, pp. 177–78.

> Latin-American public opinion asks that that continent retire in a body from the league because the organization has failed and the American continent can develop by itself its own public policies. . . . But in the degree to which our presence in Geneva does not limit our dignity as Americans or does not conflict with the principles of American international law, we ought to remain here to give our eloquent testimony to the great cause of universal peace.[4]

"In regard to reforms for the league made necessary by the Ethiopian crisis," Ecuador declared, "those accepted must leave room for advancement toward regional understandings, allowed by the Covenant itself, which will permit greater expression of community interests. . . . It has become clear that the abstract concept of the universality of principles is not sufficient to induce faraway countries to intervene in distant conflicts."[5]

Peru pointed out, along with her loyalty to the league, that the Chaco and Leticia questions had emphasized the difference between the international problems of America and of Europe and that the latter had shown its desire that America should handle these questions. Bolivia declared that the world was too small for it to split up in sections.

Mexico, closing the debate, "feared the reconstruction of an international juridical system on the ruins, still smoking, of an unjust act. . . . It might mean the future destruction of the system itself. . . . One of the greatest possible injustices would be the continuance in international society of a nomadic attitude that refused to submit international life to definite norms."[6]

As Argentina had suggested the calling of this assembly meeting, it was Chile, in declaring its belief in the league, that moved that each member nation be asked to send to the secretary general its suggestions for the reforming of the league, "with the aim of reaching universality, at the same time that due attention is given to regional interests." It also proposed "asking the opinion of non-members in order to induce them to join."

In the 1934 assembly of the league a resolution presented by Colombia was approved to appoint a committee to study the desirability of the "establishment of regular permanent links between the league and the Pan American Union." This step was no doubt taken in view of the proposal of Secretary Hull at the Montevideo conference that the governing board should make recommendations to the next Pan-American conference "as to the steps to be taken to insure full and wholehearted co-operation with non-American organizations and states." This problem of co-ordination was noted by President Roosevelt in his call on January 30, 1936, for a special peace conference.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

XVIII

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT BUENOS AIRES

PRESIDENT Roosevelt, in his letter suggesting the Buenos Aires conference, said that the cessation of hostilities between Bolivia and Paraguay marked a propitious moment for the representatives of the American republics in common council " to consider their joint responsibility and their common need of rendering less likely in the future the outbreak or the continuation of hostilities between them, and by so doing, serve in an eminently practical manner the cause of permanent peace on this Western continent." This conference, the President continued, might

> determine how the maintenance of peace among the American republics may best be safeguarded — whether, perhaps, through the prompt ratification of all of the inter-American peace instruments already negotiated; whether through the amendment of existing peace instruments in such manner as experience has demonstrated to be most necessary; or perhaps through the creation by common accord of new instruments of peace additional to those already formulated. These steps, furthermore, would advance the cause of world peace, inasmuch as the agreements which might be reached would supplement and reinforce the efforts of the League of Nations and of all other existing or future peace agencies in seeking to prevent war.

The President was of course correct in indicating that the long Chaco War had demonstrated the weakness of the various Pan-American peace pacts and had clearly revealed the necessity of ending the rivalries among peace efforts at Washington, Geneva and Buenos Aires. This work, however, might have been left to the eighth Pan-American conference scheduled to meet in Lima in 1938 if the American continent were the only one involved. But Europe was seething with the talk of war, Germany and Italy were breathing out threats every time their dictator-rulers addressed the assembled multitudes, Japan was advancing in China, according to her warlords only as a preliminary to world dominance. Under these circumstances, the question of American unity and amity became urgent.

During the World War, Pan-American solidarity was shown to be non-existent. The United States failed to join the Latin Americans in a proposal to work out neutrality questions through the Pan American Union; later the majority of Latin-American countries refused the invitation of the United States to follow her into the war. In view of the multiplying signs of another world conflagration, a wise American statesman could do no less than strive to unite the New World in a common program for peace and neutrality. The Spanish revolution, which flung the *madre patria* into the midst of the European embroglio with all its cross currents of fascism and communism — currents which were unfortunately likewise beginning to sweep across the New World — sharpened the issue.

Every one of the twenty Southern republics heartily accepted Washington's invitation and sent a distinguished delegation to the Argentine capital for the December 1–23 session. Twelve ministers of foreign affairs headed their delegates, who numbered from three to ten, since each country was allowed to send as many representatives as it desired, although it could have but one vote. The United States had eight delegates and four special advisers, headed by Secretary Cordell Hull, seconded by Assistant Secretary Sumner Welles. Secretary Hull again followed his revolutionary procedure at Montevideo of calling informally on all the other delegations.

PEACE PLANS PRIOR TO BUENOS AIRES

Since the Buenos Aires conference was specially called to deal with matters of peace, it is well to recall briefly the position of American peace organizations then functioning. There was in the first place the tradition of a century of peace conferences on the continent, with the knowledge of their successes and failures. The outstanding institution created by them is the Pan American Union. Organized as a mere commercial bureau at the first Pan-American conference in Washington in 1899, it was at the outset under the complete dominance of the United States. But by a series of valiant attacks the Latin-American countries have succeeded in making it much more representative of all American governments. The union has constantly been denied the power to discuss political questions. But it has gradually become recognized as a kind of board of directors or standing committee which meets in representation of the American republics about every five years. It acts as the depository of inter-American treaties and reports on the progress of the signing of the treaties. It also arranges for all conferences endorsed by the parent conference.

The agenda for the regular Pan-American conferences are prepared by the governing board of the union (as was that of the special conference at Buenos Aires, which, moreover, the director general of the union, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, attended in an advisory capacity), which is composed of the United States secretary of state and one representative of all other American governments — usually a government's diplomatic agent in Washington.

Since the Pan American Union may not participate in settling disputes between countries, the conventions that had been signed between those nations represented whatever base the Buenos Aires conference had to build upon for the improvement of the continental system. The most important of the conventions were the following:

The Gondra Treaty, providing that disputes which the parties fail to settle in due course must be submitted to conciliation, special commissions to be set up in each case under the general supervision of two permanent commissions, one at Washington, the other at Montevideo.

The Pact of Paris, which binds its signers to renounce war as an instrument of policy, and to settle disputes by peaceful means.

The General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, which provides that all disputes not otherwise settled shall be submitted to conciliation, but reduces the number of exceptions allowed by the Gondra Treaty. As in the Gondra Treaty, the findings of a conciliation committee are a report and not a decision.

The General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, which provides for submission to special arbitration tribunals of disputes capable of a juridical settlement. The tribunals are to be set up *ad hoc* in each case. The decision of the tribunal is theoretically binding, but in fact most of the nations which ratified this treaty made reservations.

The Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, or the Argentine Anti-War Pact, which condemns wars of aggression, pledges the parties to use only peaceful means in settling their disputes, and lays down the principle of non-recognition of territorial changes brought about by force. During the obligatory conciliation process and for six months thereafter the parties must abstain from any act likely to aggravate or prolong the dispute. In case of an aggression, the treaty provides that the parties shall together exercise the political, juridical or economic sanctions authorized by international law to prevent war, but shall in no case resort to intervention, diplomatic or armed, except as such intervention is required by obligations under other treaties.

BUENOS AIRES PEACE PLANS

Those who have watched Pan-American conferences realize that they move by fits and starts. In the first inter-American meeting I attended at Santiago in 1923, the spectacular opening session was followed by days and days of humdrum committee meetings. But all of a sudden the proposal of the Gondra peace pact electrified the gathering. The Habana conference in 1928 was a round of monotonous back-slapping and exchange of compliments until, unannounced, the ghost of intervention stalked into the halls and threw every delegate into a nervous chill. At Montevideo in 1933 the atmosphere was so stuffy that all longed for adjournment, when the delegates, suddenly realizing that they had neglected to ratify the five important peace pacts, hit the sawdust trail, as it were, confessed their sins and promised to sign every anti-war treaty.

So it was at Buenos Aires. The opening day, on which President Roosevelt made his address, was breathtaking. Then followed days of boring wrangling over rules of procedure and long speeches pronounced for home consumption. Outwardly it looked as though little was being accomplished. But this was not quite the case.

Various delegations had set out on their journey to Buenos Aires with definite projects. Secretary of State Hull, hopeful of securing unanimous acceptance of the five inter-American pacts already approved but not signed by all the countries, left Washington with two new treaties, one on neutrality, which centered on the question of American action in the event of war, and a second providing for the exchange of students. By the time the whole delegation had worked on these treaties, during the eighteen-day trip to Argentina, both differed considerably from their original form. The treaty on neutrality was fundamentally changed by the enlargement of the powers of an inter-American consultative committee, constituting it a permanent organization to deal with all situations which threatened peace; neutrality questions were relegated to the last articles. This proposal of a permanent consultative committee was a great step for the United States delegation to take, since at previous conferences it had opposed anything looking to permanent peace machinery.

Brazil had packed into its traveling bag a treaty which proposed (with the approval of the Department of State) that all the American nations unite in defending any American country from outside interference — using the very terms of President Monroe and thus implying the intention once and for all to "continentalize" his much suspected doctrine. Central Americans united firmly on the proposal to establish an inter-American court of justice as the agency to assure continental peace. These delegates also wanted a treaty defining the principles of American solidarity.

Colombia, seconded by the Dominican Republic, brought a plan for a full-fledged association of American nations related as a regional organization to the Geneva league. Mexico presented a protocol on non-intervention; Argentina her plan to harmonize the American peace treaties with the League of Nations.

The two major treaties brought by the United States and Brazil, which would have transformed the whole inter-American political scene, were withheld from publication for more than a week. In the meantime long and trying secret meetings were held among representatives of the United States, Brazil and Argentina, joined from time to time by others, to attempt to find a common formula. The first hint that such agreement had been reached brought forth the conference's greatest emotional demonstration. It was Saturday afternoon, a holiday in Buenos Aires. Suddenly delegates began to receive telegrams calling them from the social clubs and the golf grounds to an immediate meeting of the commission on peace. Laid on the tables before them in the Hall of Sessions of the Anchorena Palace, the delegates found mimeographed copies of two peace pacts — proof that the miracle of bringing together all the divergent views had been accomplished.

The first treaty provided that, should the peace of the American continent be threatened, the American governments would consult together in order to co-operate in the maintenance of peace. The second treaty further strengthened the agreement on non-intervention.

The " Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace," as the proposal originally made by Brazil was called in its changed form, contained the two following important articles:

ARTICLE I

In the event that the peace of the American republics should be menaced, and in order to co-ordinate efforts to prevent war, any of the governments of the American republics signatory to the Treaty of Paris of 1928 or to the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation of 1933, or to both, whether or not a member of other peace organizations, shall consult with the other governments of the American republics, which, in such event, shall consult together for the purpose of finding and adopting methods of peaceful co-operation.

ARTICLE II

In the event of war, or a virtual state of war between American states, the governments of the American republics represented at this conference shall undertake without delay the necessary mutual consultations, in order to exchange views and to seek, within the obligations resulting from the pacts above mentioned and from the standards of international morality, a method of peaceful collaboration; and, in the event of an international war outside America which might menace the peace of the American republics, such consultations shall also take place to determine the proper time and manner in which the signatory states, if they so desire, may eventually cooperate in some action tending to preserve the peace of the American continent.

The second treaty document adopted on this famous Saturday was one suggested by Mexico. Its acceptance was the best possible demonstration of the great change in Pan-American relations. After all the bitter struggles over the question of intervention in previous conferences (the United States even when surrendering to the principle of non-intervention at Montevideo signed with reservations) the vote was taken at Buenos Aires without opposition. So America now becomes the first continent in the world which unreservedly and sincerely signs a clear unequivocal declaration that none of its states will intervene, " directly or indirectly, for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any of the other parties." Any threat of violation of this promise will " give rise to mutual consultation."

CONVENTION TO CO-ORDINATE AND EXTEND EXISTING TREATIES

Five days after the famous Saturday afternoon meeting another important treaty agreeing to further consultation among American states was presented, again with the signature of twenty-one countries. Its basis was the treaty on neutrality proposed by the United States, but now changed so thoroughly that its most intimate friends had difficulty in recognizing it. The original vigorous measures for neutrality in relation to both parties to a conflict had disappeared, as had also the provisions for a permanent continental consultative committee. But in its revised form the treaty now performs well one of the objects which President Roosevelt stated as reasons for calling the conference, namely, "the amendment of existing peace instruments already negotiated." The convention first refers to and outlines the five cardinal continental peace pacts —

> the Treaty to Avoid and Prevent Conflicts, 1923, the Pact of Paris known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation of 1929, the General Treaty of American Arbitration also of 1929, and the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, known as the Anti-War Pact, signed in 1933, and reaffirms the obligations therein contracted by the American nations to settle by pacific means controversies that may arise between them.

The convention then advances into new territory by declaring that the signatories agree

> through consultation and co-operation, to assist the other American republics in fulfilling these existing obligations for pacific settlement, recognizing at the same time their general right to individual liberty of action when an emergency arises which affects their common interest in the maintenance of peace. It is further stipulated that should a controversy arise between any two or more of them, and consultation on the part of all of the American republics takes place, the parties in dispute will have no recourse to hostilities nor take any military action whatever during a period of six months. Furthermore, the American states which may be involved in some controversy and unable to settle the dispute by diplomatic negotiation agree not only to have recourse to the peace instruments above cited, but also to report the method for pacific settlement which they adopt, and the progress made in the adjustment of their dispute in such manner, to the other signatory states. In the event that any American republics should fail to carry out their obligation to settle solely by pacific means the controversies which may arise between them, the American republics agree to " adopt in their character as neutrals a common and solidary attitude "; to consult immediately with one another and to " consider the imposition of prohibitions or restrictions on the sale or shipment of arms, munitions and implements of war, loans or other financial help, to the states in conflict, in accordance with their municipal legislation and without detriment to their obligations derived from other treaties," in order to discourage or prevent the spread or prolongation of hostilities.

Some regret that the proposal for a permanent consultative committee had to be dropped for the sake of unanimous agreement, as they likewise regret that the clear wording of the Brazilian proposal for the continentalizing of the Monroe Doctrine was not acceptable to all. Latin America especially must realize that it has lost a great opportunity by not taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the present United States government for promoting a model peace program on the American continent, and by not securing the signature of Uncle Sam to documents long since presented by Southern leaders. But these three conventions mark three great advances. First, the Monroe Doctrine, which has been viewed with so much suspicion in Latin America, has been accepted by and for all American countries. The doctrine itself is not named, but all American states have agreed to meet together to decide on a common course of action should any one of them be threatened by an extra-continental power. Second, non-intervention has been accepted without reservations. Third, the principle of consultation has been definitely established as an integral part of the inter-American peace system. Such consultation will naturally take place through the foreign offices of the respective nations, since the foreign department is the normal agency for consultation among governments.

Here we have America taking to heart the lessons of experience that the way to avert war is not to wait until armies are mobilizing, but to seek the pacific solution when controversy first arises. The force of public opinion will rally strongly in support of a peaceful solution of such controversy. Certainly if this convention had been operative in the earlier stages of the Chaco dispute, if the good offices of all of the other American governments not parties to the controversy had been brought to bear and the public had insisted that a peaceful solution be obtained, there is little doubt that Bolivia and Paraguay would have found an equitable solution that would have prevented bloodshed.

It would have been a great loss to democratic procedure and to frank, open conference if some of the fundamental differences of opinion had been ironed out only in the private meetings of a few delegates. Fortunately this was not the case. In later meetings of the commission on peace the smaller countries of the Caribbean entered into open debate with those bordering on the Río de la Plata. The debate revolved around five important questions: signing of Pan-American treaties by extra-continental powers; an inter-American court of justice; an American association of nations; a declaration of the principles guiding the American continent; relations of the American peace system to the League of Nations.

AMERICAN TREATIES AND EXTRA-CONTINENTAL NATIONS

Until very recently the question of inviting nations outside this continent to sign treaties originating at Pan-American conferences had never been raised. At the Panama congress in 1826 Great Britain and Holland, as democratic powers, were invited to send observers, but after that meeting American conferences were open only to the independent nations of this continent, and no American territories related to Europe were represented. When Spanish-American countries made efforts to have the ambassador of *la madre patria* admitted to recent conferences; when others suggested at the fifth, sixth and seventh conferences that a liaison officer from the League of Nations be invited; even when some member states proposed that they refer to European arbitrators in the Gondra Treaty — the United States led the opposition to anything that hinted at extra-continental participation in the American peace system. Alejandro Álvarez, the Chilean authority on international law, had gone so far as to maintain that there is a system of "American international law." Argentina, on the other hand, with its close economic relations with Europe, had always tended toward "universality." But it was not until after the Argentine Anti-War Pact had been approved by the Montevideo conference (1933) that its author, Dr. Saavedra Lamas, instigated the innovation of securing the signatures of European powers. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Buenos Aires conference felt the necessity of careful consideration of this question. After a lively debate, led by Dr. Armando Arias of Panama, the continental viewpoint was maintained with the adoption of the following declaration:

> Treaties and conventions adopted at inter-American conferences shall be open to the accession or adherence of the American states which may not have signed them. . . . [The same] shall be open to all states whenever it is so provided in such instruments.

The same fundamental question was involved in the proposal of an inter-American court of justice advocated by the Caribbean countries. The Central Americans were particularly anxious to see such a court established, for they had tried a tribunal of that nature for ten years and reported that war had been practically eliminated from their territories during that period. The statutes of their court had given it large powers to prevent wars, and at one critical time it had ordered the demobilization of armies on three frontiers. It was in this discussion particularly that the smaller northern countries made their open attack on the Río de la Plata nations, who leaned toward Europe. When a Uruguayan "relator,"[1] Dr. Juan Buero, suggested that the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague might serve America and that this question be referred to the Pan American Union for study and report at the eighth Pan-American conference, the replies were quick and spirited, along the following lines:

The existence of an international tribune in Europe is recognized and its work is praised. But there are special American problems just as there are special European questions. The proposed inter-American court should have jurisdiction in questions which the ordinary diplomatic procedure has not been able to settle. Its decisions should be final, representing the moral conscience of America. Temporary tribunals and those far from the scene of the quarrel are not sufficient; in order to maintain peace, immediate and decisive action is often necessary.

It was not surprising that the Uruguay relator recommended delay, since one of his delegation had openly declared a few days previously that countries bordering the Río de la Plata had closer relations with Europe than with the rest of America. But twelve delegations favored the proposal, and they meant business. If some of the American countries did not desire to enter such a court, why should they prevent others from so doing? The small nations recognized that they were defeated for the present, but they expected to continue the battle.

The debate resulted in a resolution authorizing the Pan American Union to study the project and report to the Lima conference.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS

The proposal for an American association of nations brought clearly before the delegates the fundamental question of regional or universal organization for American states. The advocates of one system learned from those of the other and all finally postponed further debate until the next conference.

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[1] Projects submitted to each commission were first referred to a "relator" or "reporter," whose duty it was to study the subject in connection with other similar projects, discuss it with delegates of different viewpoints and draw up a recommendation for action by the commission.

Neither side had all the argument. If the League of Nations had recently failed to prevent war, the five peace pacts of America had also failed miserably in the Chaco slaughter. If the League of Nations has failed to secure the unanimous approval of American nations, the Pan American Union, organized nearly half a century ago, still has temporary status, never having been able to secure its permanence on the basis of a convention solemnly approved by the senates of the American nations. Indeed, up to the meeting at Buenos Aires, only seven countries — the United States, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Nicaragua, El Salvador — had signed all five American peace pacts; important Argentina had not signed any except its own anti-war treaty.

The United States took the position that this continent should slowly build up machinery for inter-American peace and neutrality, but should do nothing that would harm the League of Nations. Brazil favored American solidarity, but seemed to take no decisive stand on peace machinery. President Vargas in an interview given to *Diarios Associados*[2] said: "I do not know that it is necessary to create such an institution [American association of nations], but if a vital, practical plan of this kind were proposed, it would have the sincere support of Brazil." A few days later at a banquet welcoming the North American delegation in Rio on its way to Buenos Aires, the minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Macedo Suárez, expressed his aversion to any kind of continental organization or the relegation of any political power to the Pan American Union.

Argentina maintained her old position favoring universality and worked against the creation of any regional peace machinery. *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires on December 8 declared:

> Two projects that seem questionable are the creation of an American league of nations and that which asks that all American countries "consider as an unfriendly act to itself any threat of the sovereignty of another American country by an extra-continental power, such threat calling out common action by all." We do not believe in extra-continental threats. The spirit of justice is essentially universal and cannot be found in certain geographical limitations. Surely these will get no further than mere proposals, for the conceptions back of them are a century behind as regards the independence which the

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[2] Quoted in *O Observador*, Rio de Janeiro, Jan., 1937, p. 53.

American nations have attained. Let us unite more and more for peace, not for war. The former, not the latter, is the object of the Buenos Aires conference.

The Argentine proposal for integrating American peace plans with the league system was explained in an official pamphlet circulated by Dr. Saavedra Lamas before the conference met. In that document[3] he suggests the harmonizing of the Kellogg Pact and the Argentine Anti-War Pact and the adoption of the following resolution:

> Believing that all wars or threats of war affect directly or indirectly all civilized peoples, and that it is absolutely necessary to reinforce the action of the League of Nations, the efficacy of which depends upon the widespread application of the measures which it may adopt to prevent armed conflicts or to re-establish peace, the high contracting parties agree:
>
> (a) The contracting states which are members of the League of Nations and signatories of the Kellogg Pact or the Saavedra Lamas Pact or of both at the same time, may jointly or separately request the contracting states which are not members of the league but are signatories of the above-mentioned pacts to lend their co-operation in the anti-war measures or in the sanctions which the League of Nations may counsel to be adopted against its member states which have broken its Covenant.

Colombia and the Dominican Republic presented a plan for an American association of nations which they held to be the logical solution of both the regional and the universal viewpoints. Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Haiti had also suggested the topic for the agenda. But none of the larger nations warmed up to the plan at Buenos Aires. Both the United States and Argentina regarded it as utopian, if indeed they did not resent it. Its most insistent advocate, the brilliant young Colombian minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Jorge Soto del Corral, persuasively presented the argument for such an organization before a plenary session of the conference. What made his argument still stronger was the fact that his own country and Peru had settled the difficult Leticia question precisely by a combination of effort initiated by the League of Nations and worked out in detail by American peace forces. Some of the arguments of Dr. Soto del Corral follow:

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[3] *Draft of a Convention for the Maintenance of Peace. A Contribution to the Labors of the Forthcoming Inter-American Peace Conference,* by His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas (Washington, D. C., May, 1936).

> We who belong to the left in this conference realize that there are nations with complicated economic and international structures that cannot arrive at fundamental decisions quickly. This proposal for an American association is not new. It works neither for continental isolation nor against the league in Geneva. The lack of unity among the American members of the league is disconcerting, for it is at Geneva that we ought to work together for the dominance of American democratic principles in solving world problems. One of the outstanding successes of the league — to quote President López — is the settlement of the dispute over Leticia. We follow the league, even though it costs sacrifice, because it represents universal principles necessary for the triumph of peace. When we signed the league's pact, we deposited there a part of our sovereignty. So we followed instructions in applying sanctions in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, not because of opposition to Italy, but because we hoped this would help prevent an unjust war.
>
> American nations constitute one third of the membership of the league. It is a shame that we do not unitedly stand for the principles of justice when big nations like Japan and Italy threaten them. Until there is unity among the American nations there can be no unity in the American viewpoint in Geneva.

The commission on peace spent the day following this address in listening to a careful historical resumé of the idea of an American league and of the recent discussions in the League of Nations concerning regional organizations. The report of the relator, Dr. Max Henriquez Ureña, Dominican minister in London, along with the debate on the subject, occupies the entire edition of the official *Diario* of December 19 and is well worth the reading by students of the subject.

But Argentina and the United States did not even want to participate in any such commission. The matter therefore awaits the convening of the next Pan-American conference.

The great Teacher tells the story of an insistent woman and an unjust judge. She was finally heard, not so much because of the justice of her case as because of her insistence. Will it be the same with the idea of an American association of nations? It seems to be a topic that will not down, no matter how vehemently the wise ones declare it to be impractical and impossible. It has insinuated itself into the program of every Pan-

American conference of recent years, political, cultural or economic. It was the central theme of discussion in the series of Latin-American conferences begun at Panama in 1826 and continued for half a century, when the following principles were worked out as its basis:

(1) Renunciation of wars of aggression and conquest.

(2) A system of collective guaranty of territorial integrity, independence, political sovereignty and national institutions, with the principle of non-intervention as a complementary formula to the system of guaranty.

(3) Methods for the pacific settlement of international controversies: conciliation, investigation, obligatory arbitration, collective mediation, consultation by the governments.

(4) A system of sanctions of international obligations.

(5) Continental juridical organization through the codification of international law and uniformity of private law.

These suggestions were in those days considered too difficult of realization by the nations concerned. In fact, lack of close communication made them impossible. But the rapid development of the airplane and radio today has brought so many new problems that these very principles now struggle to be born in a world league of nations. President Baltasar Brum of Uruguay, in advocating a continental league in 1923, stated that

> the organization of this American league is in my opinion a logical sequence to the Versailles Treaty of peace, which in recognizing and expressly accepting the Monroe Doctrine seems to be desirous of limiting its sphere of action as far as American affairs are concerned. . . . The American league would therefore have the double purpose of occupying itself with conflicts with the extra-continental countries, and with disputes that might arise among its members.

The project was presented by the Uruguayan delegates to the fifth Pan-American conference in 1923 and was referred to the American nations for study. At an unofficial conference held in Panama in 1926 to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Bolivarian conference, the need of such an association was emphasized. At the Montevideo conference no specific proposal was presented but a study of the question by the Pan American Union was ordered.

At Buenos Aires the authors of the project realized that they were defeated before they began so far as immediate action was concerned. They had to content themselves with the resolution to invite the interested countries to form a study committee and bring a report to the Lima conference. The greatest difficulty that will confront this committee is not ordinary questions of international organization, but the problem of how the peculiar situation on the American continent can be met — how, with democratic representation, can the proposed institution satisfactorily protect the interests of the one big nation that has more population and more economic power than all the other countries combined, and at the same time do justice to the smaller countries.

Closely related to the action on the international league was a resolution in regard to America's relation to the League of Nations which reads:

> To recommend to the American states members of the League of Nations and signatories to the Pact of Paris, the Saavedra Lamas Treaty, and any other similar agreements signed in the future, that they request the states which are not members of the league and which are parties to the other treaties referred to above, that they co-operate with the League of Nations in the study of the projects for the co-ordination of those various instruments with the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The United States refrained from voting on this resolution, probably because of the fear of unfavorable comment by enemies of the league at home.

PRINCIPLES OF INTER-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

The Central American delegates working as a unit, as they did throughout the conference, secured the adoption of the following important declarations:

> The governments of the American republics, having considered:
>
> That they have a common likeness in their democratic form of government, and their common ideals of peace and justice, manifested in the several treaties and conventions which they have signed for the purpose of constituting a purely American system tending toward the preservation of peace, the proscription of war, the harmonious development of their commerce and of their cultural aspirations demonstrated in all of their political, economic, social, scientific and artistic activities;

That the existence of continental interests obliges them to maintain solidarity of principles as the basis of the life of the relations of each to every other American nation:

That Pan-Americanism, as a principle of American international law, by which is understood a moral union of all of the American republics in defense of their common interests based upon the most perfect equality and reciprocal respect for their rights of autonomy, independence and free development, requires the proclamation of principles of American international law; and

That it is necessary to consecrate the principle of American solidarity in all non-continental conflicts, especially since those limited to the American continent should find a peaceful solution by means established by the treaties and conventions now in force or in the instruments hereafter to be executed,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

DECLARES:

(1) That the American nations, true to their republican institutions, proclaim their absolute juridical liberty, their unrestricted respect for their several sovereignty and the existence of a common democracy throughout America;

(2) That every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them, and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation provided for the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Re-establishment of Peace, executed at this conference; and

(3) That the following principles are accepted by the international American community:

(a) Proscription of territorial conquest and that, in consequence, no acquisition made through violence shall be recognized;

(b) Intervention by one state in the internal or external affairs of another state is condemned;

(c) Forcible collection of pecuniary debts is illegal; and

(d) Any difference or dispute between the American nations, whatever its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation, or full arbitration, or through operation of international justice.

This declaration, with its unequivocal affirmation of "the existence of a common democracy throughout America" and its recognition "that every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects the peace of each and every one of the American nations," seems clearly to usher in a new day in inter-American relations.

OTHER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES

The desire to make war as difficult as possible was again apparent in two other treaties. One, suggested by the Chilean government, provides for the establishment by each American republic, with each of the other American republics, of permanent bilateral mixed commissions of representatives of the two governments to study the causes of any future difficulties which develop into controversies between them, with the primary object of eliminating such difficulties. Brazil proposed an equally effective treaty stating that recourse may be had to the good offices or mediation of an eminent citizen of any American republic, to be chosen from a permanent list, in the event of a controversy which might require such friendly services.

The conference took no radical new steps in regard to neutrality, disarmament, juridical and economic questions. The differences on neutrality revolved around the question of whether only the aggressor in a war should be denied trade and loans or whether the belligerents should be equally denied such privileges. Members of the league advocated defining the term "aggressor," but the United States and others dissented.

The one definite piece of continental peace machinery that came out of the conference was a Permanent Committee of Experts on International Law. The creation of this committee to codify American international law had been approved at Montevideo, but the Buenos Aires meeting assigned to it various practical problems which the conference did not have time to work out. These problems include the organization of an inter-American court of justice, the definition of "aggressor," questions concerning nationality and the collection of pecuniary claims. The first meeting of this commission, already elected by the American nations, was scheduled to take place at the Pan American Union headquarters, April 7, 1937; it will thereafter sit at regular periods. No one at the conference seemed to realize just what was being done, but here in fact we have the first officially elected permanent group on the American continent to study inter-American problems and to advise with the governments and with the Pan American Union concerning American peace problems.

The trade policy adopted at the suggestion of Secretary Hull by the Montevideo conference was endorsed at Buenos Aires. It involves the suppression of all discriminatory practices in inter-American commercial relations — including those arising in connection with import license systems, exchange control, and bilateral clearing and compensation agreements — and urges the other countries of the world to join in removing those artificial barriers to trade which constantly threaten peace.

The conference also recommended continuation of the practice of signing bilateral trade agreements with the most favored nation clause attached, such as those that have proved so helpful to countries like Cuba. More specific results were obstructed by the fundamental differences of economic interests between countries like Argentina, which finds the principal markets for her meat and wheat in Europe, and countries like Brazil and Mexico, which sell their coffee and mineral products chiefly to the United States. The economic rivalry between Argentina and the United States is, of course, the principal reason why the delegations of these two countries at peace conferences so often find themselves on opposite sides of a question. Neither country can be blamed for being primarily interested in selling its products, but the situation does put a responsibility on each government to make special efforts to adjust its rivalries for the strengthening of inter-American solidarity.

CULTURAL RELATIONS

Cultural interchange has come late in the Pan-American movement. But however often in the past it may have been crowded out of the agenda by more exciting political questions, at Buenos Aires it held a central place.

There have been two Pan-American educational conferences, one at Habana in 1930 and one at Santiago, Chile, in 1935. The Habana conference outlined a rather pretentious organization, but no machinery has been provided to carry out the plans and therefore little has been accomplished. The Pan American Union has an excellent Department of Intellectual Co-operation which, up to the present, has served largely in the United States. The placing of exiled German scholars in various South American countries has started a movement by the universities of Panama and of San Marcos at Lima to form an *Instituto Americano Universitario de Investigación.* Peru and Colombia recently (July 20, 1936) signed four conventions providing for a wide exchange of publications, of information, and of intellectual and cultural ideas.

Chile has been a leader in such exchange, having proposed the first inter-American treaty on this subject in 1879. She now has agreements with various countries, including Argentina and Peru. She has an educational mission in Venezuela, and her university at Santiago holds the largest group of Latin-American students at any university in the world. The universities of Quito, Mexico City, Panama and Puerto Rico are other institutions that have during recent years become centers of inter-American intellectual movements.

The universities of the United States indicate their interest in this subject by their growing number of courses concerning Latin America. In 1905 only five universities had such courses. In 1919 the author gave at Columbia University the first credit course in the United States on Pan-American relations. In 1926 there were 175 institutions of higher learning giving courses on Latin America and in 1935 this number had increased to 335. Surprising to many will be the fact that 199 of the courses are on literature and only 27 on trade. History leads with 395 courses. Pan-American student associations are now organized in all sections of the United States and one high school in New York City has nearly three thousand students of Spanish — although it must be confessed that Spanish is now losing to German and French.

North American delegates to the Buenos Aires conference found themselves in an exceptionally favorable atmosphere, with two outstanding organizations in that city working for the exchange of the highest cultural values between the two countries. The Argentine-North American Cultural Institute has a downtown center where lectures are held, North American books are sold and some twenty-five hundred students are taught English.

Equally important work is being done by Ward College. Founded under religious auspices by a North American business-man, the school has grown to be a splendid illustration of the best in Northern and Southern culture. North Americans and Argentines mingle together on a large faculty, one section of which prepares students in English for entrance into colleges in the United States, while another section, recognized as a part of the national educational system, prepares them for work in the great University of Buenos Aires. Mackenzie College of São Paulo, with eighteen hundred students, Bennett College of Rio de Janeiro, and Crandon Institute of Montevideo also impressed delegates to the peace conference as making important contributions to this cultural exchange. But in comparison with other nations the United States has little representation in this field.

In São Paulo there are some twenty-five representatives of European countries on the university faculty and only one North American. In none of the three great capitals of the east coast — Buenos Aires, Rio, Montevideo — is there a single North American professor teaching in the universities, while there are dozens from European countries. In Brazil associations to foster their culture have been organized by French, German, British, Portuguese and various other foreign colonists. But no organization to promote Brazilian-North American cultural relations existed until, returning from the Buenos Aires conference, the author stopped in Rio and aided the Brazilian Educational Association and other friends in organizing one. Such cultural institutions should be developed in every Hispanic country.

The appointment of educational attachés to the principal United States embassies could help generally to further such cultural work. Even during the dark days of the civil war in Spain her cultural attaché in Buenos Aires acts as a most valuable liaison between Argentine and Hispanic letters.

The difficulty of securing books, periodicals, reports and specialized literature from the various American countries is often emphasized. Outside of Mexico City there is hardly a North American bookstore in all Latin America, although there are many first-class French, German and Italian ones. Nor are Northern books available in the public libraries, although there is a large and growing demand for the latest publications from the United States, especially in education, psychology, sociology and applied sciences. The conviction was expressed that to make books available through libraries and easy means of purchase is primary in all plans for cultural exchange.

Recommendations adopted at Buenos Aires to increase the exchange of books suggested the publication of a bibliographical bulletin by every country; interchange of educational documents; opening of reading-rooms in at least one library of every city where leading periodicals of each American country may be consulted; free postage for books written by American writers.

This conference was the first inter-American gathering in which the United States gave any indication of interest in cultural matters. The Department of State itself presented to its delegation aboard the southbound ship a proposed treaty providing for the exchange of students. Each signatory American nation was to agree to send at its own expense two students annually to every other co-operating nation. The proposal was later enlarged by the delegation to include exchange professors. Students and professors are to be selected by the receiving government from a list of available persons submitted by the sending government. Recognizing the many failures in the past to carry out plans of this kind, the conference decided to ask governments to " designate or create an appropriate agency or appoint a special officer charged with the responsibility of carrying out in the most efficient way possible the obligations assumed in this convention." It was suggested that this agency also assume responsibility for aiding non-official groups, as of students, labor and women's organizations, to promote cultural understanding.

Latin Americans, accustomed to the emphasis of United States delegations on commercial and political questions, were greatly impressed with this treaty on cultural exchange. Practically every newspaper in Buenos Aires had an editorial on the subject the day the project was presented to the conference. The following treaties were approved:

(1) Exchange of students and professors, proposed by the United States. Public opinion should secure the approval of the treaty along with funds and machinery to carry out its provisions. If all the countries approve this treaty it will mean that each year forty students and twenty professors — a small army of peace — would exchange countries.

(2) The teaching in all American schools of the principles of pacific settlement of international disputes and the renunciation of war as a national policy. Each country is asked to entrust this work to a proposed national committee of intellectual co-operation, which shall also enlist the services of moving pictures, the theater and the radio in pacifist propaganda. This national committee would submit annual reports of progress to the Pan American Union and to the Institute of International Co-operation at Paris.

(3) The creation in the national or official libraries of each country of a section dedicated to the works of other American countries, each government promising to provide others with both its official publications and a collection of books that will explain the ideology of its men of letters and scientists.

(4) Exemption from duties on educational films.

(5) Facilitation in various ways of exhibitions of American art and other cultural materials.

Important recommendations included the following:

The appointment of national committees on intellectual co-operation; ratification by other countries of the Argentine-Brazilian treaty providing for the revision of textbooks so as to eliminate unfriendly references to other nations and to add material concerning the economic, social and cultural life of other American nations; discouragement of the presentation by theaters and motion pictures of scenes that would glorify armaments, wound the sentiments of other nations or incite hatred of foreigners; employment of radio as a peace agency, with detailed suggestions as to how this could be accomplished; conferences of educators; greater emphasis on teaching the principles of democracy; organization of an association of American authors and artists; co-operation among museums; enlargement of Boy and Girl Scout movements; protection of copyrights.

SIDE LIGHTS

The unofficial side of the conference was important. The many meetings outside the official halls — in the university, in various scientific, literary and business circles and especially in the private homes of hospitable *bonaerenses* — added life, color and warmth to the more formal meetings.

Many private groups co-operated with the peace aims of the gathering. The most active of these co-operators were the various groups of women, particularly those from Argentina and the United States. A large number, some thirty, represented various women's organizations of the United States. The people's mandate was received in an extra-official session of the congress itself, when the mandate against war was presented by Mrs. Elise F. Musser, United States delegate, Mrs. Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller, delegate from Brazil, and Mrs. Caroline O'Day, congresswoman-at-large from New York. Later the petition for peace from more than a million men and women was presented to the president of the conference.

Never before has an international conference of American states heard such emphasis on the need of religion. President Roosevelt surprised the delegates when he declared in the opening session:

> This faith of the Western world will not be complete if we fail to affirm our faith in God. In the whole history of mankind, far back into the dim past before man knew how to record thoughts or events, the human race has been distinguished from other forms of life by the existence — the fact — of religion. Periodic attempts to deny God have always come and will always come to nought. In the constitutions and in the practice of our nations is the right of freedom of religion. But this ideal, these words, presuppose a belief and a trust in God.

Nothing in his address was more heartily applauded. Following his lead, frequent references were made to Christ, to the celebration of his birthday, to God's goodness to America, and to the duty of this continent to follow the Prince of Peace. With the approval of the Commission on Initiatives, the cardinal conducted a special high mass officially attended by all the heads of delegations. A resolution was passed to send the greetings of the conference to the pope and to the League of Nations.

In the turning of the tide in America definitely for or against democracy and international organization for peace, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the next few years. Keen enemies and wrongly guided friends are abroad. Governments as well as unofficial peace advocates need to be alert and wise. Official agencies, besides securing prompt adoption by their senates of the treaties approved by their delegations at Buenos Aires, must face various definite issues.

Probably most of the results of the conference will depend on the willingness of conscientious and responsible citizens of American countries to back their officials to whom these matters are committed. In this connection we cite the words of one of the greatest leaders in the peace forces that have recently appeared on the American horizon, Secretary of State Cordell Hull. In an address before the conference, he said:

> People everywhere should be made to know of this peace mechanism. . . . In all our countries we have scholars who can demonstrate these facts; let them not be silent. Our churches have direct contact with all groups; may they remember that the peacemakers are the children of God. We have artists and poets who can distill their needed knowledge into trenchant phrase and line; they have work to do. Our great journals on both continents cover the world. Our women are awake; our youth sentient; our clubs and organizations make opinion everywhere. There is strength here available greater than that of armies. . . . War is not an act of God but a crime of men! . . . The real patriots of the future will be the leaders who find and follow the road to peace.

The splendid accomplishments of the Buenos Aires parley represent, more than anything else, a hope and a challenge to the lovers of peace and democracy. It would be unrealistic to claim that the conference guaranteed the American continent safety from war, even among its own peoples; and certainly it was not able to affect fundamentally the terrific drive toward armed conflict in Europe and Asia.

But if the people of Latin America can swing into the program outlined, there will be fresh reason for believing that the Southerners are destined to occupy an important place in world life.

Labor. Literature on organized labor in Latin America is scarce and unsatisfactory. The United States Department of Labor publishes important bulletins from time to time, as, for example, *Labor Legislation of Argentina, Labor Statistics of Latin America* (March, 1930); *Labor Legislation in Uruguay* (July, 1929); *Workmen's Compensation Legislation of the Latin-American Countries* (1930). Two interesting pamphlets on economic problems dealing indirectly with labor are *Current Trends in International Trade in Argentina,* by George J. Elder (International Conciliation, New York, June, 1931); *Latin America and the United States* (Catholic Association for International Peace, Pamphlet No. II, Washington, 1929). Among the articles in the *Pan American Bulletin* may be cited "Social Labor Legislation in Brazil" (May, 1935) and "The Protection of Women Workers in the Americas" (Sept., 1935). The only book giving an entirely scientific treatment of a national movement is by Marjorie R. Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico* (Chapel Hill, 1934). Other books on the same subject are J. H. Retinger, *Morones of Mexico* (London, 1926), and William English Walling, *The Mexican Question* (New York, 1927). Relationships between Latin-American labor and that of the United States and Europe are treated in a most interesting volume by Lewis L. Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism* (New York, 1929).

Labor legislation is fairly well covered in publications by the International Labor Office, *Legislación social de América latina* (Vol. I, 1928; Vol. II, 1929). M. Poblete Troncoso, the Chilean representing Latin America in the International Labor Office, writes frequently in the official review, *Revista internacional del trabajo,* and information can be found also in various issues of this organization's annual review. The official publications of the various governments are of course available to those interested in the official viewpoint. A volume on Brazilian legislation is C. J. Dunlop's *Legislação brasileira do* *trabalho,* 2nd edition (Rio de Janeiro, 1934). Brief references to labor may be found by consulting the index of many of the books cited in these bibliographical notes. But a comprehensive treatment of the subject either in English or Spanish is yet to be undertaken.

STUDENTS. The standard reference for the university reform movement is found in the encyclopedic work mentioned in the text as edited by Gabriel del Mazo, *La reforma universitaria* (Buenos Aires, 1927). A brief history was written by the Peruvian José Carlos Mariátegui, *La reforma universitaria* (Buenos Aires, 1928). Another extended pamphlet of importance was written by José Ingenieros and Haya de la Torre, *Teoría y táctica de la acción renovadora de la juventud de la América latina* (Buenos Aires, 1928). The *Aprista* movement of Cuba has recently issued an important historical pamphlet, *Haya de la Torre, la reforma universitaria* (Santiago, 1934). See also Carlos Enrique Soldán, *De la inquietud a la revolución, diez años de rebeldías, 1909–1919* (Lima, 1919) and Julio V. González, " La reforma universitaria " (*Renovación,* Sept., 1923). The Pan American Union mimeographed a brief bibliography of articles in English which give sketchy accounts of the student movement.

COMMUNISM. If reliable literature on labor is scarce, it is much more so in the case of communism. The files of the *New York Times* contain abundant references, but these are hardly ever interpretative. No unprejudiced monographs exist so far as is known to the author. Material for this section has been gathered from many sources and its reliability depends largely on the author's judgment. Communist publications furnish the most important source material. The following is a list of the principal communist publications in Latin America. Dailies: Mexico — *El Machete;* Cuba — *El Luchador del Caribe, Avanzada;* Colombia — *El Soviet, El Bolshevique;* Chile — *Bandera roja, La Opinión.* Reviews: Mexico — *Futuro, Frente a frente, Ruta, Rumbo, Pro-Paria;* Argentina—*Nervio, Nueva revista, Literatura argentina, Mástil.* Because of frequent suppression of communistic publications by governments the above list is subject to change. Radical thought, distinct from communism, is now represented by several well edited magazines: *Claridad,* Buenos Aires; *Hechos de ideas,* Buenos Aires; *Liberación,* San José, C. R.; *Crisol,* Mexico, D. F.

RELIGION. Modern students of South America, either foreign or native, have written few books on religion. The best of the few fresh studies on this subject is that by Dr. John A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ* (New York, 1933). The notable book of Dr. Ricardo Rojas, *The Invisible Christ* (English translation by Dr. W. E. Browning, New York, 1931), gives a dialogue between a professor and a bishop, presenting their typical viewpoints. William F. Montavon of the National Catholic Welfare Association contributes an interesting discussion on modern religious life in *Modern Hispanic America* (Washington, 1933). *Catholicism, the Keynote of Pan-Americanism* and other pamphlets are issued by the Catholic Association for International Peace (Washington). Frequent articles commenting on religious conditions appear in *America, The Catholic World* and *The Missionary Review of the World.* Some of the more reliable impressions by travelers are given in the following: E. A. Ross, *South of Panama* (New York, 1913); James Bryce, *South America: Observations and Impressions* (New York, 1914); H. J. Mozans, *Through South America's Southland* (New York, 1916); Stephen P. Duggan, *The Two Americas* (New York, 1934); Carleton Beals, *Fire on the Andes* (New York, 1934). Translations of various articles on religion by South American authors are found in the files of *Inter America.* Surveys of religious as well as of social conditions are given, as already mentioned, in the comprehensive reports of the Congress on Christian Work held, under the auspices of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, in Panama (1916), Montevideo (1925) and Habana (1929). A study of the schools established in South America by North American missionary agencies is given by S. G. Inman in the *Educational Yearbook* published by Teachers' College (New York, 1933). The Latin-American Division of the National Catholic Welfare Association (Washington), the Missionary Education Movement (New York) and the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America (New York) will answer requests for literature on religious and other subjects. Dr. Juan B.

Terán in *Salud de la América española* (Buenos Aires, 1926) describes the small place religion has played in the life of thinking Latin Americans and shows the need of a faith that will have an ethical content.

INTERNATIONAL TRENDS. The two best sources in English for the series of American conferences and accompanying influences from 1826 to 1889 are Alejandro Álvarez's *The Monroe Doctrine* (New York, 1923) and James B. Lockey's *The Beginnings of Pan-Americanism* (New York, 1920). A briefer account, along with the story of the Monroe Doctrine and the Pan-American conferences is found in S. G. Inman, *Problems in Pan-Americanism* (New York, 1925). The relations of Hispanic America to Europe are well treated by J. Fred Rippy in *Latin America in World Politics* (New York, 1928).

For a fresh consideration of an old friend which holds the record as an inspirer of books and articles, the Monroe Doctrine, two books are suggested: a favorable view, by J. Reuben Clark, *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine* (Washington, 1929) and a well done funeral dirge, by Gaston Nerval, *The Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine.* The latter volume contains a strong argument for the setting up of a real Pan-American machinery for peace and attacks "the feeble, ill-reputed . . . Pan-Americanism of after-dinner toasts . . . in the Pan-American Building at Washington." The proceedings of the Pan-American conferences, without editorial comment, are published by James Brown Scott, *The International Conferences of American States* (New York, 1931). Accounts of the Montevideo conference are contained in pamphlets issued by the Foreign Policy Association, *The Seventh Pan-American Conference,* and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Montevideo Conference, Antecedents and Accomplishments.* A catalogue of facts has been written by W. H. Kelchner in *Latin-American Relations with the League of Nations* (Boston, 1930). Important discussions of the league from the standpoint of Latin America are given by José Carlos de Macedo Soares, *Brazil and the League of Nations* (Paris, 1928), by Narciso Garay, *La república de Panamá en la liga de las naciones* (Mexico, 1928) and in the monumental work of 741 pages by the Spanish internationalist, Camilo Barcia Trelles, *Doctrina de Monroe y cooperación internacional* (Madrid, 1930).

Among the favorable treatments of the idea of an American league of nations may be mentioned Baltasar Brum's *The Peace of America* (Montevideo, 1923) (a proposed constitution for a league), and Pedro Erasmo Callorda's *Idea de una liga que responde a los conceptos panamericanos del congreso de Bolívar* (Habana, 1928). The author of this volume has treated the subject in detail in two books not published in English: *Hacia la solidaridad americana* (Madrid, 1923) and *Conferencias sobre relaciones internacionales,* a series of lectures given in the University of Mexico and published by that institution in 1927. An argument for the withdrawal of Latin-American countries from the League of Nations and formation of an American group is found in a treatise by the Venezuelan Simón Planas-Suárez, *La política europea y la sociedad de las naciones* (Barcelona, 1935).

Book Five

WHAT WILL THE NEW ORDER BE?

XIX

URUGUAY IN EVOLUTION

AFTER REVIEWING the general trends in the past and examining some of the present-day movements, we confront the problem of the Southerners' future. An analysis of what has happened in the two countries — Uruguay and Mexico — that have recently profoundly modified their life is suggestive in this connection. In other nations there has been agitation for radical reorganization, sometimes in a measure successful, but the old order has always been restored. But Uruguay, by slow educational and legal processes, has developed one of the most completely socialized states, and Mexico, by violent revolution, is working out a new kind of combination between communism and capitalism, parts of which are being copied by various other governments.

After examining the trends in radical Mexico and Uruguay and listening to some of the representative voices of Latin America speak about the future, we will be ready to consider the important question of whether the South will adopt North American machine civilization or whether she will find her own peculiar place in the life of the world.

Only the fact that Uruguay is a country of about two million population keeps it from being the most discussed nation in the world; for during the last twenty-five years, by peaceful methods, she has been working out solutions of the grave social and political problems which beset the whole world today. Surrounded, as is Switzerland, by more powerful nations, she has been forced to use brain rather than brawn and thus has constituted herself a laboratory for radical experiments in political, social and international life.

Uruguay has a homogeneous people of almost wholly European stock. The country is adventurous in spirit, ready to give any feasible program a trial. With the highest standard of living and the largest percentage of literacy of any Latin-American country, she is a model for the entire continent.

JOSÉ BATLLE

Unlike Mexico and Russia, Uruguay has been able to carry out her reforms without the shedding of blood. Behind this movement of constitutional reconstruction is the personality of the eminent publicist, José Batlle y Ordóñez. This remarkable man, born in 1865, was educated in Europe, whence he returned to Uruguay in 1882 to enter actively into the life of his native land. In 1885 he founded the daily journal *El Día,* which until his death continued to be his organ and today is carried on by his sons and enthusiastic followers. By means of his journalistic efforts and his political campaigns he practically remade the thinking of Uruguay. That land, a football between Argentina and Brazil, had been famous for its revolutions in which the two political parties, *Colorados* and *Blancos,* battled each other in and out of office for three-quarters of a century.

Batlle was determined to rid his country of ruthless tyranny and introduced social and political reforms. He joined the *Colorado* party and began working for its complete democratization. In 1903 he had become such a power in the country that he was elected president. He endeavored to form a coalition government and thereby pacify the *Blancos,* but they refused and began the customary revolution, which was defeated in the decisive battle of Masoller on September 1, 1904. Since that day there have been no sanguinary revolutions in Uruguay.

People naturally expected Batlle to use his power to perpetuate himself in office, but when his four-year term expired he turned over the government to his successor and left for Europe. During his four years in Europe he studied very carefully both political and economic problems. He was overwhelmed with the perception that Latin-American countries were only theoretical democracies and could never become real ones so long as power was centered in the executives. In vain, he believed, was the power divided among the executive, legislative and judicial departments, since the two latter were unable to oppose the will of the man who had all the financial and military resources at his command and could easily control elections.

He rejected the secret ballot proposed by Sáenz Pena as a means of controlling this evil, and also the parliamentary system as adopted by Chile, since he believed Latin America was not prepared for either. He turned his attention to the study of the government of Switzerland, where he found that a group of men rather than one individual assumed the responsibility. To this collegiate system, in which the executive function was divided, Batlle committed himself. He believed that although the electorate was not well prepared and that even though three or four incompetent persons might be elected, nevertheless, with a council of nine to share responsibilities with the president, several good men would necessarily get into the government.

When Batlle was recalled to Uruguay and elected president in 1911 he startled his constituency by announcing these views in *El Día*. Nothing daunted by the hostile reception of his proposal, he demanded a congressional assembly, chosen by universal suffrage, to consider the question.

Aided by a brilliant company of young men who were intensely devoted to him personally, he went everywhere preaching the doctrine of collegiate government and social legislation. However, when the ballots were first counted the *Colorados* were in the minority. There ensued in the constitutional convention — which met in the national university in the fall of 1917 — one of the most brilliant discussions of political and social questions that has ever taken place in South America. The Batlle forces snatched victory out of defeat. By intellectual arguments, and particularly by strategic compromises with opponents, they were able to secure at least a partial acceptance of Batlle's proposal.

While not including all of his recommendations — the complete elimination of the presidency, for instance — the Constitution did at least provide for a collegiate executive, for a president invested with certain powers and an executive council of nine with other powers. These were to be elected directly by the people. The president was given command of the military and police forces and was declared the nation's representative. The newly created National Council of Administration was composed of nine citizens, to be elected every six years, one-third being replaced every two years from among those receiving the most votes below theirs, including one of the minority. It was to be independent of the president and to appoint the ministers of public instruction, of the treasury, of industries and public works. Each department was to be governed by an administrative council which included representatives of the minority.

The separation of church and state was a radical provision of this remarkable document. The Department of Primary and Normal Instruction, the university, the Board of Public Health, the Department of Post and Telegraph, the Board of Industrial Education and the Electoral Court were all given practical autonomy under special boards set up by the national government.

The Constitution not only provided citizen's rights for those born in the country and those with either father or mother of Uruguayan citizenship, but also ruled that legalized citizens need not renounce the nationality of their origin, and that in case of the nation's armed conflict with the country of his birth the naturalized citizen would be exempt from military service. All matters relating to election were placed under the supervision of the Electoral Court, a separate division of the government composed of nine members elected by the General Assembly. Three of the members of the Electoral Court must be neutral in order that the court should command the confidence of both parties. Voting was by secret ballot with identification by photograph and fingerprints.

The death penalty was abolished. Judges and prison officials were given large liberty in dealing with criminals, being invested with discretionary powers regarding an offender's good behavior.

Here we have the only fundamental constitutional reform abandoning the balance between the executive, legislative and judicial powers since the days when Simón Bolívar suggested a life presidency and a fourth department of government dealing with morals.

A SOCIALIZED STATE

If the remarkable mind of José Batlle had grappled with the fundamental political problems, he had not failed to appreciate social questions as equally important. As a matter of fact, he put these first, the motto of his life being, "The easing of human suffering." His proposals for social amelioration and reform aroused as much antagonism as did his political innovations. But here again his triumph was assured because of the brilliant group of young disciples who not only gave their devoted allegiance to his person, but undertook a profound study of socialistic theory and practice in order to advocate his ideas intelligently. Early recognizing the necessity of patience and of a long educational process, they made long journeys and tiresome campaigns through many years to bring the common people to an understanding attitude. By such prophetic vision Uruguay has escaped the terrific labor upheavals and the suffering undergone by her neighbors during the years of depression.

The social program in force in Uruguay can be divided into two sections. The first is social legislation which, among various ramifications, includes the following: Old age and invalid pensions averaging ten dollars in gold per month are granted to persons under certain specified conditions. Pensions are provided for government officials and schoolteachers, as they are for workingmen on railroads, telephones and other public works. The minimum salary for rural workers on large estates is about eighteen dollars in gold per month; workers for the state or on public works receive a minimum salary of fifty dollars per month. In Montevideo the minimum salary is seventy dollars, supplemented with ten dollars a month for each child, up to one hundred dollars. The law provides for weekly rest days; night work is prohibited in bakeries and certain other factories; chairs must be provided for women workers; the maximum day is eight hours; indemnification for accidents is established; foreign workers are welcomed and no passports are required except in times immediately preceding election; the farmers' loan bank provides thirty-year loans for purchasing property and developing crops.

The second division of the social program involves state operation of a large number of industrial corporations. This means a unique kind of state socialism, with the Uruguayan government controlling a large part of the state's business. The object of this arrangement is not simply to limit the exploitation of the people by private concerns, but also to control foreign investors who so often skim for themselves the cream of industrial life. The following monopolies are run by the national government: the Bank of the Republic, the Loan Bank, the Department of Docks in Montevideo, the Department of Railroads and Electrification of the state, the administration of the street railways of the state, the National Refrigerating Plant, the monopolies of alcohol, of petroleum, of telegraphy and telephones and of cement factories. The state or the municipality even conducts hotels, theaters and gambling casinos. These institutions are carried on as would be private enterprises, with their independent boards of directors appointed periodically by the national government.

To illustrate the working of this legislation, let us consider one of the most discussed sections — old age pensions. Public employees of almost every class have been for many years eligible for pensions and retirement allowances. The law providing for old age pensions was passed on February 11, 1919. Every person who, on arriving at the age of sixty, is incapable of work and is indigent, is entitled to a minimum yearly pension from the state of ninety-six pesos, or its equivalent in direct or indirect aid. On October 11, 1926, the directors of the bank raised the sum to nine pesos per month. The revenues for the pension fund are derived from several sources, the most important being the contribution of twenty centesimos monthly by employers for each of their employees, and a graduated surtax on all real estate whose value is not less than two hundred thousand pesos.

The public health program is admirable, although its budget is not provided for by the national government but is raised by the autonomous Board of Public Health, which spends about twelve million pesos annually. Few countries in the world can boast of better free hospital service than Uruguay, and her ultimate goal is free medical treatment for every resident of the republic.

Uruguay spends on her public schools an annual average of eleven million pesos, or more than fifty pesos per child. This is the highest item in the national budget, with the exception of service on the national debt. The Bank of the Republic, operating on the principle that it " must sacrifice profit to the social interest," charges less interest than do private banks. The state-owned railways (about one-third of the total) offer rates about one-third cheaper than those of privately owned lines.

They have been of great benefit, for example, to farmers otherwise handicapped in raising certain crops.

There is much debate over the question of whether government enterprises give as good results as private concerns. There are strong arguments on both sides. In the twenty years of operation of these government enterprises there has been an investment of about 66 million pesos, with profits of 62,111,000 pesos. If these profits have been disappointing at least Uruguayan citizens have had much employment at good wages. However, during this period the national debt has more than doubled — from 120 million to 260 million pesos — and the cost of government has increased from 44 million to 100 million pesos. Uruguay's social program did not save her from entering with other South American governments into the orgy of foreign loans and extravagances during the bonanza days of the early twentieth century.

RETURN OF DICTATORSHIP

No doubt there have been abuses in this system, but it certainly had good effect in reducing economic strife and worry among Uruguayans. With this advanced political and social legislation Uruguay became easily the leading democracy in Latin America. Nevertheless, as might have been expected, dissatisfaction soon arose over most of the reforms. The political opponents of the Batlle party were very active in their opposition to the dual executive system. The greatest advantages it gave Uruguay seemed to be an enlightened electorate, the elimination of a large part of the graft in public office and the absence of revolutions after nearly a hundred years of incessant internal warfare.

Following the example of Batlle, his young disciples gave themselves unselfishly to their political work, applying moral rather than military suasions. Uruguay became the center of many international organizations and its similarity to both Switzerland and Holland as an international center was widely recognized. Its educational system was modernized and some of its special schools and its work for the betterment of children became known in all parts of America, which gradually looked to Uruguay as a model state. So it was a great shock to the civilized world to read the scant details of an uprising led by President Gabriel Terra against his own government in March, 1933.

When the delegates to the seventh Pan-American conference gathered at Montevideo in December, 1933, they were greatly disappointed to find this idealistic little land in the hands of a dictator and under a strong press censorship. Many of its most important citizens had been expelled. President Terra and his friends claimed justification before the delegates, alleging that the bureaucracy of the Batlle regime had become unbearable, since with a majority in Congress it had refused to approve the reforms considered necessary by Terra, who felt his power so restricted as to make him little more than chairman of a commission. He therefore executed his coup d'état, disbanded the National Administrative Council and Congress, expelled his leading opponents and established a one-man power.

The Terra coup brought many a misfortune to this wonderful little land. One of them was the suicide of Dr. Baltasar Brum who, as the most important living exponent of Batlle's ideals, was unwilling to assent to their abolition, and ended his life as a protest. In a wide acquaintance with South American government officials we have never known a harder worker or a more unselfish servant of the people than Baltasar Brum. As one of the youngest secretaries of foreign affairs ever to function in Latin America, Brum was in the midst of the great problems brought on by the World War and made himself famous throughout the continent by his declaration that Uruguay would not consider as a belligerent any American nation that was at war with any nation outside of the American continent. This declaration so pleased President Wilson that he invited Dr. Brum to visit the United States, where he made a profound impression. The most notable political contribution made by Dr. Brum was his suggestion for an American league of nations, a suggestion which was carried by the Uruguayan delegation to the fifth Pan-American conference in Santiago, Chile, in 1923. Unfortunately, the United States delegation did not approve of such a league and the proposal has never been given the attention that it merits.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

President Terra, soon finding that Uruguay had been too thoroughly drilled in democracy for an old type dictatorship, felt the necessity of calling a constitutional assembly. This body met for several months and, being under the dominance of the president, did not hesitate to give the death blow to the most beloved of Batlle's plans, that for an administrative council. In the political field a number of interesting innovations were introduced in the document inaugurating the "Third Republic." (The only constitutions Uruguay has had are those of 1830 and 1917, and the new one adopted on March 24, 1934.)

The new Constitution provides for woman suffrage and punishes female as well as male voters by fine for not exercising the right of franchise. Native-born Uruguayans naturalized elsewhere do not lose their Uruguayan citizenship. Uruguay was one of the first countries to favor the arbitration of international disputes and it now embodies that ideal in its basic law. The provision reads:

> In all new international treaties which are negotiated Uruguay will propose a clause providing that all differences which may arise between the contracting parties shall be settled by arbitration or other peaceful means.

With the National Administrative Council abolished, the executive branch consists of the president and a Cabinet of nine. The Cabinet members must be appointed by the president from the two parties which together make up a majority in parliament. The president has the powers, for example, of both the French president and the prime minister. He has two votes in the Cabinet because after voting with the ministers he can vote again to decide a tie. A parliamentary vote of censure applies only to individual members of the Cabinet and does not bring about a new political setup. If a majority favors censure and does not have the ability to rally a two-thirds vote, the president can dissolve Parliament and call new elections. The new Parliament is required to vote on the same question within fifteen days of its inauguration. If it maintains the censure, both the president and the Cabinet have to resign and Parliament elects their successors for the unexpired term.

The Batlle party further lost by the fact that several of the corporations, formerly independent, are now brought under the president's supervision through his various ministers. A new minister is appointed to administer the Department of Health, while postal service, telegraphs, railroads, and port works are placed under the definite direction of various Cabinet officials instead of being allowed to continue to function as semi-independent corporations. Those corporations that are continued have their numbers reduced and certain regulations prescribed.

The main body of social legislation developed through the years is, however, maintained and in some cases advanced. The section on " rights, duties and guarantees " provides for old age pensions, child welfare, state care of mothers, free medical attention for the poor, workmen's accident insurance, cheap dwellings for laborers, an eight-hour day and a six-day week, a minimum wage and special consideration for employed women and minors. It recognizes workmen's right to strike and to form unions. These and other social laws already codified now receive the character of constitutional provisions.

The Constitution is one of the longest ever adopted by a nation. It contains 279 articles in more than twenty thousand words. It will be understood, then, that the document goes into great detail, especially concerning social provisions, the key principle of which is stated in the opening article of the long Chapter II on social protection: " The state will watch over the social development of the family." Some of the other articles provide that:

> Parents of children born out of wedlock have the same duties in reference to them as they have to those born in wedlock. . . . Maternity, whatever be the condition or state of the woman, has the right to the protection of society and its care in case of need. . . . In no case are prisoners permitted to serve sentences as a means of mortification but only to assure their re-education in the matter of work and the use of time.

The social provisions of the Constitution can be illustrated by the " Children's Code," issued by the Central Council for the Protection of Children. It affords the child the greatest care from prenatal days until he becomes a voting citizen. Prenatal protection comprises eugenics, prenuptial examinations, the protection and care of pregnant women, mothers' lunchrooms, mothers' homes and mothers' insurance. It provides in considerable detail for the protection of the mother and of the newborn babe, and prescribes special care for the abnormal and the sick child. The code regulates the care and education of children of preschool and school age as well as of those attending high school. Aid for socially handicapped children and for working mothers is defined. Provision is made for the establishment of clinics and laboratories for children and teachers, and of open-air schools, preventoria, vacation colonies and school camps, as well as training homes and school workshops for abnormals.

As regards intellectual and moral protection, the code establishes compulsory instruction for all children between six and fourteen years of age. Children between five and sixteen years of age are allowed to attend cinemas only in the daytime, and then not unless the films have been previously approved by the protection council. The sale of alcoholic beverages and of tobacco to children under eighteen is forbidden, as is also the sale of books judged contrary to morals. Begging by children, or by grownups accompanied by children, is forbidden.

One of the chief reforms is achieved through the creation of the office of judge of minors, whose function is expressed in the formula that he should, like a good father, execute all the acts necessary for the protection of minors. In order to prevent or correct the serious social evils which are the cause of illegitimacy, the code is very severe in the regulation of article 173 of the Constitution, which states that " every child has a right to know who are his parents." As to work, children under fourteen years of age are forbidden to enter industrial establishments; no child under twelve is allowed to undertake rural work during the school period, and all matters relating to child labor are carefully defined.

The code, contrary to the Mexican attitude, assumes a cordial relationship between official and unofficial agencies working for the child's physical and cultural development. Thus, while church and state remain separate, there is no indication that Uruguay intends to follow Mexico in an endeavor to put the education of children completely into the hands of the state.

Such idealistic provisions for political and social action in most Latin-American countries would probably mean little in practical results. But Uruguay has already accomplished so much that outsiders are compelled to take seriously her new program.

Though the progress of Uruguay has been interrupted by the coup d'état of Gabriel Terra in 1933, it is difficult to believe that the country has more than momentarily halted its progressive program. The work of Batlle and his disciples has been one of education, converting citizens in the remotest districts as well as in the capital by appeal to intelligence and enlightened self-interest. Results, while not all that a more perfect execution of the program might have brought, have been sufficient to substitute for frequent bloody revolutions a new regime of order and social justice which places the nation in a class by itself among American countries. If its citizens, instead of allowing themselves to be thrown off the main track by political incidents, will but cling to the important parts of the program, changing details as experience suggests, the rest of the continent may continue to find guidance in this laboratory of socialized democracy.

Certainly few small nations have been privileged to contribute to the world in one generation three such characters as the statesman José Batlle y Ordóñez, the master of youth José Enrique Rodó, and the poet-pacifist Juan Zorilla de San Martín. It may therefore be expected that Uruguay will continue to furnish inspiration for the developing life of the New World.

XX

MEXICO IN REVOLUTION

THE MOST tremendous event on the American continent during the last two decades has been the Mexican revolution. Like the upheavals in Russia, Turkey and China, it is notable for its fundamental rethinking and reorganization of all life. Its originality is shown in the fact that it preceded the Russian revolution, to which it is often erroneously traced, by some eight years. In its early days, under the leadership of Madero, it was principally interested in political questions, but under a group of young idealists who surrounded Carranza, it soon adopted the socialistic program which was officially set down in the Constitution of Querétaro in 1917. It must therefore be considered not a military event, but a social upheaval, a triumph of idealism, a revolution of the public mind.

Probably not since the founding of the democracy of the United States has anything more original been undertaken in the New World. A white European-North American capitalistic regime is being replaced by an Indian communal system. Private property and the machine are not being eliminated, but are distinctly being subordinated to the welfare of the community as a whole. The fundamental place of land in Mexican life is being emphasized.

The movement has been so incomprehensible to foreigners and to those Mexicans who cling to the ideals of European culture, precisely because all fundamental human desires have been channeled into an urge for a new Indo-Americanism. Loyalty to native values has been made primal. Faced with the probability of being ever more cruelly exploited, Mexico resolved to change wholesale formerly accepted principles of social life. Irrespective of customs, traditions and surface appearances, she has committed herself to a complete reorientation of political, social, educational and spiritual values.

In the early days of the revolution a new respect for work and a love for play began to develop. The old worship of the hidalgo, the "son of something," and the wasteful expenditure by government and by individuals were frowned upon. The Indian, who had been forbidden in the time of Díaz to appear in the cities in native garb, was now encouraged to live his own life, and the young people of the cities staged attractive Indian plays glorifying the life of the Aztecs, the Mayas, the Zapotecas and the Yaquis. Opposed to the *científicos,* who had ruled in a lofty manner in utter disregard of the common people, the young revolutionists encouraged the rule of the middle and proletarian classes. They fled from the dominance of French art, of Roman religion and of North American industrialism. A new order of crusaders developed in all fields, including education, labor, agriculture, sanitation, art and literature. Discussions with government leaders in Mexico City and in some of the state capitals during the 1920's often made the visitor feel that he was interviewing the successors of Old Testament prophets.

FORERUNNERS

The forerunners of the revolution, few indeed in number, might be divided into three classes. First were the liberal editors who in spite of " dungeon, fire and sword " returned again and again from prison to resurrect their confiscated periodicals and renew the attack on tyranny and the capitalists. Among the most noted were Filomeno Mata, editor of *El Diario del hogar,* and the Magón brothers, editors of *Regeneración.* When the latter had to flee for their lives to the United States, our government at the instigation of Mexico hounded them unmercifully. Ricardo Flores Magón, a noble spirit akin to Eugene Debs, finally wasted away with tuberculosis in Leavenworth prison where, completely abandoned, he died in 1921. Another group who attacked the dictator was composed of a small number of youths who were allowed their little fun, much in the same spirit that a king grants privileges to his jester. Prominent among them were Diódoro Batalla and Querido Moheno, who made their attacks from the floor of the national Congress. The third group consisted of a baker's dozen of young intellectuals, " the generation of 1910," who challenged the whole basis of the national culture which up to that time had been slavishly copied from abroad. Following the reform of 1857, the peculiar morality adopted by the government imposed sterility on all inquiry concerning the reason for man's existence and the source of life. Investigation of positive facts alone was permitted. Social life was only another phase of the struggle for existence which constantly goes on among all orders of organic life, and in which the survival of the fittest is demonstrated.

The dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz found in this philosophy of the survival of the fittest its defense of the immense differences between the small minority of the rich and the great majority of the poor. The younger generation began to challenge the investigations of Darwin, Spencer and Comte concerning first causes and to urge the power of sentiment, the place of humane conduct in a social world, the divine discontent of those who faced social injustice.

For a time it seemed that the terrific political turmoil might put an end to intellectual life; but the love of culture inherent in the Latin tradition was triumphant. All through the ten years of fighting, with the younger members of the "intelligentsia" turned into soldiers, the efforts toward intellectual renewal, though disorganized, continued; and finally Mexico won freedom in philosophy, literature and art — much more freedom, indeed, than in politics.

The young intellectuals who began meeting about 1906 were forerunners of an awakening that was to come later all over Latin America. Among the most prominent members, some scarcely out of their teens, were Antonio Caso, student philosopher; José Vasconcelos, a young lawyer; Alfonso Reyes, poet; Jesús Acevedo, architect; and Diego Rivera, painter. These young men had a feeling of intellectual oppression as well as the sense of political and economic restriction which they shared with larger groups. Some way or other they felt that the accepted philosophy of Comte was too systematic, too final. So they read the earlier thinkers whose work the positivists had condemned, such as Plato, Kant and Schopenhauer, and they studied such modern heretics as Nietzsche, Bergson, Boutroux and William James. In literature they ceased to confine themselves to Paris but read the Greeks, the Spaniards and the English. They sought urgently new light on political, economic and social doctrine, and when they found it, quickly passed it along to the public in lectures, articles, books and art exhibits. When Madero came into power in 1911 the leading representatives of the old official thought retired from the university, and their places were taken by some of the young leaders already mentioned, augmented by still younger men like Gómez Morín, Lombardo Toledano, Alfonso Caso (brother of Antonio) and Moisés Sáenz.

To these new Mexican leaders was soon added a group of young radicals from other parts of the world, especially Latin America. During the regime of José Vasconcelos as minister of education, that department adopted the policy of inviting as guest-teachers young people who in other countries were challenging the old order. Among these, one calls to mind such vigorous personalities as Gabriela Mistral, the social poet of Chile; Haya de la Torre, Peruvian student leader; Julio Mella, Cuban communist; Salomón de la Selva, Nicaraguan poet-rebel; Rafael Heliodoro Valle, Honduran romanticist; Pablo Boder, Russian psychologist; Frances Toor, Scandinavian folklorist; and Robert Haberman, Rumanian labor agitator. Most of this group of foreigners identified themselves with the Mexican attack on the *status quo* and joined in creating a literature of revolution. They introduced Mexican social doctrine into other parts of Latin America, so that in practically all of these lands radicals now speak of the time when their countries shall reproduce the Mexican experience.

A new orientation in the study of sociology, economics and law became evident in the national university. In architecture a movement to study Mexico's colonial tradition was started in 1913 by lectures given especially by the youthful architects, Jesús Acevedo and Federico Mariscal. As a result, Mexico City now possesses scores of new buildings of varying excellence in which the old architecture is adapted to new purposes.

In music not so much has been achieved, although it has shared in the renaissance, as those will testify who have heard Carlos Chávez direct the national symphony orchestra while it plays his own whimsical modernistic overture *H.P.,* " Horse Power." The interest in folk songs has become general; everyone sings them, as everyone delights in the pottery, the carving and the weaving of the Indians.

In literature the changes have been less striking than in architecture or painting because literature had already achieved considerable originality. At the same time realistic descriptions of military and political life in the revolution by authors like Mariano Azuela and Martín Luis Guzmán, whose best books have been translated into English under the titles *The Underdogs* and *The Eagle and the Serpent,* have added new glory to Mexican letters. There is also a group of new writers on social themes who, if they have not attained international fame, have at least enlivened the periodical literature of their own nation.

In the beginning of the revolution "Effective Suffrage; No Re-election"[1] was Madero's motto and Carranza opposed the usurper Huerta on a program of restoring the Constitution. When the convention was called at Querétaro in 1917 to write a new constitution, Carranza, as first chief in charge of the executive power, submitted a draft largely based on the political document of 1857. But the radical social forces swept the politically minded delegates before them, and the document was finally approved, with the famous articles 3, 27 and 123 which made it the most radical Constitution adopted by any state up to that time. Many of those principles of socialization later came to be recognized by other nations, yet in 1917 not even Russia had announced the radical changes which for many years were to keep her out of respectable society. Whether this radicalism was wise or unwise for Mexico history alone can tell, but none can doubt that it was brave, for the leaders probably realized that the vigorous attack on the four great problems of land, labor, foreign exploitation and the church would arouse the outside world to violent protest.

For this protest it was not necessary to wait long. The vested interests in Mexico itself began vigorous complaint, but they rather early found themselves powerless. There were two other groups, however, whose protests were supported by two of the strongest powers in the world, the financial interests backed by the United States government and the religious interests backed by the papacy. The financial interests finally accepted a compromise with the new order when Ambassador Morrow went to Mexico. But the religious forces, although agreeing to a truce in 1929, still in 1936 found themselves in serious conflict with the Mexican state.

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[1] When Obregón, in spite of this slogan, decided to run for the second presidential term, the populace had its fun by changing the phrase to read: "Effective Suffrage No; Re-election." Equally illustrative of popular ridicule of a political situation is the story that President Calles suggested to Secretary of Labor Morones that the name of the national labor group, Crom (*Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana*) should be changed because people were interpreting it to mean, *¡Como roba oro Morones!* ("How Morones steals gold!") Whereon Morones suggested to his chief that the letters be reversed to read Morc, meaning *Más oro roba Calles* ("More gold steals Calles").

FOUR FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

Let us look at the way the new Mexico attacked her four fundamental problems.

Land. Before the coming of the Spaniards, down through the colonial period, and on to the Díaz regime in the latter part of the last century, the Indians lived mostly in villages that were endowed with inalienable communal lands. These lands constituted the principal source of the livelihood of the inhabitants. The most important form of communal holding is the *ejido,* which may include as much as four square leagues of land. Alongside this communal system, however, there came to exist large hereditary estates or *haciendas.* The reform movement which developed about the middle of the last century had as one of its objectives a decentralization of land ownership, but that program was checked with the advent of Porfirio Díaz who promulgated laws which tended to create a monopoly of public lands in the hands of a few. Speculation became rife and the acquisition of homesteads decreased proportionately. During the Díaz regime, down to 1906, about twenty-six and a half million acres of national land were turned over to private interests.

When Madero and Carranza failed to carry out properly the program of land distribution, Emiliano Zapata arose in the state of Morelos, which had previously been divided among some dozen great *científicos* of Mexico City. *Tierra y Libertad,* "Land and Liberty," was the cry that increased Zapata's popularity to such a degree that at one time he even controlled the nation's capital. But he was captured through treachery and shot. Today, his aggressive figure, mounted on a white horse, has been immortalized in a mural by Diego Rivera, and he is fast becoming one of the revolution's saints.

But the actual process of taking over the great landed estates which, however wicked and wasteful, had become a part of the nation's economic system, and distributing them in small parcels to ignorant peons who had previously worked under the lash of the *mayordomo,* raised a surprising number of problems. Lands must be paid for, crops to feed the country must be raised, and the new peon tenant must be educated in the significance of his new liberty, provided with necessary tools and animals, protected from the exploiters, and aided in marketing his crops. It is not surprising, then, that the distribution of lands proved one of the most difficult parts of the revolutionary program, and that it has been for politicians the means of great self-enrichment and for honest officials the cause of many a headache. A legitimate criticism is that many of the leaders of this idealistic movement, including men like Obregón and Calles, built up for themselves immense holdings which at times have given them practically a monopoly on certain products.

In spite of all the abuses, however, the government has gradually worked out a program to provide farming equipment and, through co-operatives and local farm banks, to arrange for the financing and selling of crops. It has taken steps also to protect the farmer from exploitation by the middlemen who swarm around the ignorant peons in order to rob them, if not of the land itself, then of its products. The rural school has come to regard itself as the protector of the small farmer; as these schools are increased the distribution of land will become much more successful.[2]

Along with the agrarian program has gone the opening of huge irrigation projects in various parts of Mexico. In practically all of the large colonies where the government has distributed a considerable amount of land these irrigation projects have been developed. Usually there are located near these projects a school of agriculture, a farmers' bank, rural schools and other means recently developed for helping the farmer to become an independent, thinking citizen.

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[2] The census of 1935 showed that 895,284 heads of families have received lands, amounting to 11,741,191 hectares, through 7041 *ejidos* (village communal plots), about one third of this land being tillable.

As a part of the new Six Year Plan adopted by the national government in 1934, the distribution of land was fundamentally reorganized. An amendment to the Constitution was passed providing for expropriation of lands for distribution among the country people, permitting no appeal to the courts but requiring compensation in bonds. The executive announced a plan for surveying and dividing among the needy forty million hectares (about one hundred million acres) of land, at the same time assuring the landed proprietors that they need have no fear of any illegal seizure of their property.

Revolutionary leaders have always had two opposing theories about land distribution. One is that the ultimate goal is to have all land owned by the community, as in the pre-colonial days. The private ownership which has been granted by the government should be only a bridge used to span a preliminary period of education that will train the peon to make full use of the soil. With all individuals of the community thus trained, it would be safe to turn all land into communal holdings. The other theory, that of private ownership, maintains that the only way to make of the peon a real farmer is to give him his land and put him completely on his own responsibility.

Which of these systems will finally prevail it is difficult to say. The Six Year Plan seemed to tend toward the private property theory, although this is not altogether clear. One thing is clear: President Cárdenas has returned to the convictions of the early leaders that by the distribution of land, more than by any other issue, will the success or failure of the revolution be determined. The city politician may temporize while he arranges to make himself the greatest beneficiary; but the Indian forms too large a part of the population and has recently learned too much of his power to allow the new bosses to dodge for long the fundamental question of *tierra y libertad*.

Labor. The peons on the great estates were bound to the land by debts. By legal and illegal means the proprietor was able to hold them for his personal service. When a *hacienda* was sold the peon went along with the rest of the property. But at least he lived within a patriarchal system with a certain protection from the modern industrial grind. With the introduction of the factory, however, many an Indian struck out for the city tenements and became enmeshed in a new kind of exploitation. The longest article in the Mexican Constitution, and in some ways the most radical, is article 123 which provides for a modern labor program, not only allowing labor to organize, but in detail prescribing the eight-hour day, the protection of women and children in every industry, and most of the modern ideas of labor protection.

During the Díaz regime the incipient labor movement was checkmated on every hand. Attempted strikes were met with suppression by the regular army, troops often firing into the strikers when these had assembled with the hope of bargaining with their employers. Article 123 was written not so much to meet the actual conditions in Mexico as to express an ideal and to strike at the foreign industrialists and Mexican *hacendados* who were indifferent to the laborers' welfare. The industrial workers organized and acted under President Obregón as backers of the revolutionary government, at times forming a military defense against uprisings. The Crom developed an immense membership as a semi-government organization under Calles — a fact which caused political wrangling as divisions developed between the urban industrial workers and the *campesinos,* the country laborers. These divisions still exist and the first enthusiasm for a great united labor organization has died down.

At present the labor legislation is more and more being carried forward by the revolutionary government itself, in spite of the vigorous complaints of foreign and national employers. It is enforced under the Federal Labor Law, passed August 18, 1931, one of the most elaborate labor codes in existence. Trade unions are not only permitted but required, and employers must, when requested, enter into a collective contract with the union. Boards of conciliation and arbitration, with which these agreements must be registered and which decide on major labor questions, including strikes, are a most important part of the scheme. These boards are made up of an equal number of representatives of employers and laborers, the chairman being appointed by the government. As long as labor holds the majority in government, as it does today, it will have a dominant influence in settling industrial disputes. The right of the worker to his job is assured until the board of arbitration has determined otherwise, and if discharged he must usually be paid three months' salary. If a strike is declared legal the employer must pay labor for the time it has lost. The practical enforcement of the law is the source of much discussion and controversy, capital claiming that some of its provisions are practically confiscatory. Adjustments will have to be made to fit conditions. But it is a long road over which labor has advanced since the days of Porfirio Díaz.

In the early part of 1936 President Cárdenas, due to an unusual number of strikes and to the strenuous resentment by industrialists of union activities, made an extensive trip of investigation and after first-hand study of the situation in many parts of the republic reiterated his friendship to labor. He recognized the need of co-operation between the government and the factors controlling production so as permanently to solve all problems inherent in relations between employers and workers under the present economic and legal system, and pointed out the desirability, from a national point of view, of establishing a single central industrial workers' union to put an end to inter-union conflicts equally harmful to workers, employers and the government itself. The government, he declared, is the arbiter and regulator of social existence, and he assured the worker that demands could always be taken into account within the margin afforded by the economic possibilities of employers and companies. To the employer class he denied the power to interfere in any way in labor organizations; the employer class would have the same right as the workers to link up its organization with the national structure.

The cause of social unrest must not be sought in the existence of communistic groups, President Cárdenas declared. Such groups only constitute minorities without influence on the country's destiny. Unrest arises out of rightful aspirations and needs of the working masses, as yet unsatisfied, and out of noncompliance with labor laws. Fanatics who murder schoolteachers, or who oppose enforcement of the laws and of the revolutionary program, have done more harm to the nation than the communists, and yet we have to tolerate them. The employer class must take great care lest the agitation stirred up by them become a political banner, for this would lead to a struggle by force of arms. Any employers who are weary of the social struggle may turn their industries over to the workers or to the government; this action would be patriotic — not so a lock-out.

The place of the foreigner. From the days of Cortés down through the empire of Maximilian, the invasion of General Scott, and the meddling of Senator Albert B. Fall and Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson, Mexico has been dominated by the foreigner. The young revolutionists were fond of saying, "Mexico is a good mother to the foreigner but a poor stepmother to the Mexican."

When Americans first asked for a concession to build railroads in Mexico, there was a long debate as to whether this would give the Northerner still larger power south of the Rio Grande. But the concessions were granted, and when the roads were completed North American railroad men were brought to run them. But after the government secured control of the railways, from 1907 onwards, it ordered that all train dispatches be written in Spanish. Consternation seized the foreign engineers and conductors. Most of them had been running trains in Mexico for from twenty to forty years but had not thought of learning Spanish. Strong protests were made. But it seemed so ridiculous for Washington to tell Mexico that she could not use her own language for train orders in her own country, especially since the national government had acquired controlling interest in the roads, that for once the state department refused to undertake such special pleading.

Several articles in the Querétaro Constitution attempted to put the foreigner in his place. The most important one was the famous article 27 which proposed severe limitations upon his right of ownership of lands and of the subsoil, declaring that if he owned property or industrial shares in Mexico he would be compelled to acknowledge himself a Mexican in so far as due respect for the laws and courts of Mexico was concerned. In other words, the Calvo Doctrine (first stated in 1863 by the Argentine statesman whose name it bears) was adopted with its provision that foreigners, like nationals, who have any questions regarding financial claims, must submit them to the courts of the country rather than to their own diplomatic agents. The foreigners, after a long battle fought especially between the Department of State at Washington and the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Mexico City with mutual incriminations, bluffs and insults, finally yielded to the principles involved in the Calvo Doctrine. Their capitulation was largely brought about by Ambassador Dwight W. Morrow, who contributed so much to the building of understanding between the United States and Mexico. There still remain, as of course there always will be, certain international questions to be adjusted. But that epoch of centuries' duration when foreign governments were the arbiters of Mexico's affairs seems to have passed into history.

The church. Intimately bound up with the land and labor questions was that of the church. Those who drafted the Querétaro Constitution were facing the problem of how to unseat the totalitarian church that had been in order to enthrone the totalitarian state that desired to be. The present quarrel as it appears in 1936 is the continuance of a family feud centuries old. Like all family feuds it has become particularly cruel and unreasonable, neither side giving any quarter. The state at the present time has the upper hand and is paying back its old enemy with severe regulations. Government officials, under the cloak of the revolution's new social program, are maintaining that the dispute is not one regarding religious liberty, but one to determine whether or not Mexico shall develop social service for the masses.

THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

The struggle for Mexican independence, begun in 1810, was led by a parish priest, a Mexican who had been working to better the lot of his poor Indian parishioners by introducing the cultivation of the vine and the silkworm. His ecclesiastical superiors, however, were Spaniards and completely opposed to all liberal movements. Hidalgo's army was a mob of untrained Indians. When he was captured the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities, having previously excommunicated him, demanded his death. When Mexico finally secured her independence in

1821, it was through a betrayal of her republican interests by a combination of the militarist Iturbide with the clericals. Thus Mexico's first experiment in republicanism was defeated by the intrigue of the church authorities, and in this manner began the long struggle of liberals on one side and clericals on the other.

In 1833, under the leadership of Gómez Farias, the first legislation depriving the church of property and political power was passed. In 1857, as shown in an earlier chapter, the little Indian Benito Juárez led in the adoption of the Constitution which separated church and state, to which were later added, under the same influence, the so-called Reform Laws. The liberals defended these drastic laws as being necessary to the republican form of government, but during the administration of President Díaz they were relaxed and the church came again to possess great influence.

During the Juárez administration Protestant leaders in the United States received intimation from Ambassador Romero and other leading Mexican liberals, including the president himself, that they would be welcomed in Mexico. Even before that the renewed discussion of the religious question had led to the formation of small indigenous evangelical groups in Mexico. The principal Protestant denominations in the United States, therefore, began to work in the neighboring country about 1870; through them churches, schools, hospitals and social centers have been established in various parts of the republic. While the schools have been opposed by the Catholic church only theoretically with threats of excommunication of parents who patronized these institutions, the churches themselves have been subjected to every kind of persecution.

It was, however, not for the sake of religious liberty primarily but for the sake of curtailing the power of their political enemies that the revolutionists wrote into the Constitution of 1917 limitations of the church even more radical than those contained in the 1857 document. The Querétaro Constitution provided, among other things, that primary instruction must be secular and that no religious corporation nor any minister of religion could establish or direct primary schools. Public worship could be performed only in the places designated by the government. All churches were declared to be the property of the nation; religious institutions were deprived of the power of holding property and state legislatures were given the right to determine the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds allowed in each state. Foreign ministers were prohibited from exercising their ecclesiastical rights in Mexico. Religious periodicals and religious meetings were not permitted to criticize the government. Political associations bearing religious names were prohibited. Ministers were not allowed to vote, nor could those accused of violating religious laws be allowed trial by jury.

The Mexican hierarchy was not long in protesting against the new Constitution and openly violated the various provisions, declaring that they would not accept these legal restrictions. President Obregón, in an appeal to the clergy, said:

> I therefore call upon you with all the sincerity which characterizes the men of the revolution, and I exhort you for the good of our people, that you neither calumniate nor injure the progress of that essentially Christian and humanitarian program which the government seeks to develop in our country. Its oppressed classes have for many long and bitter years experienced sundry injustices and have missed the spirit of brotherhood and justice which should have prevailed in the directing upper classes, who have neglected the noble part of man's mission on earth and instead exerted all their efforts to pile up their material fortunes. I assure you with all sincerity that not only will you not encounter any obstacle in carrying out the tenets of your religion in this country, but that you will have the support and sympathy of every Mexican.[3]

These overtures, however, were rejected. A letter from the pope, made public by the archbishop on April 19, 1926, declared:

> It is scarcely necessary for us to tell you how wicked are the regulations and laws invoked against the Catholic citizens of Mexico which have been sanctioned by officials hostile to the church, and which by their enforcement long have oppressed you. You are fully aware that these laws are far from being reasonable laws, nor are they useful and necessary for the common good as assuredly all laws should be. On the contrary, they do not seem to merit even the name of laws. Indeed, we are moved all the more insistently to utter this public protest

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[3] Emilio Portes Gil, *The Conflict between the Civil Power and the Clergy* (a historical and legal essay, English translation published by the ministry of foreign affairs, 1935), pp. 101–2. This pamphlet is the most convenient place for the English reader to secure most of the documents connected with the church controversy.

> and condemnation of such laws, seeing that day after day the warfare against the Catholic religion is being waged more bitterly by the rulers of the republic.[4]

The Mexican government, facing these threats against its authority, and finding the clergy often taking a defiant attitude, began to enforce the laws more vigorously. General orders were given that all churches must be registered with the authorities, that schools conducted by ecclesiastical organizations must conform to official regulations, that foreign ministers must perform religious rites and that religious services could be held only in buildings registered with the government.

During the administration of General Calles the controversy came to a head. The archbishop of Mexico published in *El Universal* of February 4, 1926, a declaration that

> the doctrine of the church is invariable because it is the true divine revelation. The protests which the Mexican prelates have made against the Constitution of 1917 in the articles which are opposed to liberty and religious dogmas will be maintained firmly. The episcopacy, the priests and Catholics do not recognize and we will combat articles 2, 5, 27.

The archbishop announced that the opposition would be at first peaceful but there might be need to resort to force. When the Calles government insisted on strict application of the laws requiring the clergy to register before performing ecclesiastical functions, the hierarchy decided to withdraw priestly ministrations from the Mexican people. From 1926 to 1929, therefore, this overwhelmingly Catholic country for the first time in its history had no public celebration of the mass or of the great religious holidays, except as carried on by the laity.

The Catholic church in the United States, led by Archbishop Curley of Baltimore, took the side of its brethren in Mexico, claiming that this was a persecution of the Catholic church which called for drastic action by the United States government. Representative John J. Boylan and others presented the question to the United States Congress as being a direct persecution of all religious elements by a government which was following the example of Russia. A delegation from the Knights of Columbus waited on President Coolidge to ask for governmental action to compel the Mexican government to change its attitude. Along with its endeavors in the United States to secure our intervention, the church inaugurated a movement in Mexico to bring that government to terms. Besides the cessation of religious rites, an economic boycott was started by a voluntary Catholic society. None of these protests availed.

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[4] Quoted also in a pastoral letter of the Mexican episcopate, *El Universal,* July 25, 1926.

Following the break between church and state in 1926, an uprising was begun known as the *Revolución cristera* named thus from the battle cry of *¡Viva Cristo Rey!* Archbishop Gonzáles of Durango, in a pastoral letter from Rome dated February 11, 1927, addressed to the leaders of the *Revolución cristera* said: " To all Catholic sons risen in arms for the defense of their social and religious rights: After having thought at great length before God and having consulted the sage theologians of the City of Rome, we should say to you be tranquil in your conscience and receive our benedictions." [5] However, in 1929 it became evident that this revolt was a failure and ten bishops, meeting in Mexico City, adopted a resolution dissociating the church from the revolution. Following this move Ambassador Morrow offered his good offices and the church dignitaries, on May 1, 1929, signed an agreement with President Portes Gil who made public a statement declaring that the law which required the registration of ministers did not mean that the government desired to register any except those named by the hierarchy, and that no ministers of religion were prohibited from imparting church doctrines within church confines to adults or children. President Portes Gil said:

> I am glad to take advantage of this opportunity to declare publicly and very clearly that it is not the purpose of the Constitution, nor of the laws, nor of the government of the republic, to destroy the identity of the Catholic church or of any other or to interfere in any way with its spiritual functions.

The declaration of one prominent authority that this was only a truce proved to be true. In 1931 the church celebrated with great pomp the four hundredth anniversary of the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Government officials became incensed at these celebrations, which seemed intended to show the church's tremendous authority. The state legislatures took the most extreme measures. Vera Cruz limited the number of priests to one to every hundred thousand of population; Tabasco suppressed all religious leaders, and other states restricted them to one to every twenty-five or fifty thousand of the population.

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[5] Alfonso Toro, *La iglesia y el estado en México* (Mexico, 1927), p. 394.

ANTIRELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

In several of the states a definite antireligious movement was carried on by the authorities. In the state of Tabasco there have been no priests for the past ten years, and more recently the evangelical ministers have been compelled to leave because of persecutions and the imposition of a tax which was more than their salaries. The church buildings were turned into schools, headquarters for labor unions and other social institutions. Teachers were required to teach against religion and in public meetings often led in denouncing God. It was claimed that the ministers of religion were living on the life blood of the people and that all religious institutions, as upholders of exploitation, must be destroyed. When President Lazaro Cárdenas was electioneering in the summer of 1934 he visited Tabasco and declared that the whole of Mexico should imitate the example of that state. On being elected, he invited Governor Garrido Canabal to become minister of agriculture. This arch-enemy of religion took with him to the federal capital a large band of his "Red Shirts" who by their preaching of atheism soon aroused bloody riots similar to the battles between clericals and liberals a century ago.

It soon became clear, however, that the National Revolutionary party was using the church question to distract attention from serious divisions in its own ranks. General Calles seemed to have adopted the despicable technique of claiming that the Catholic hierarchy was threatening the existence of the state whenever he felt it necessary to hide too evident political abuses by his own group. Division within the revolutionary party became acute when General Calles, on June 13, 1935, gave out a statement criticizing the administration of President Cárdenas, and thus precipitated one of the most critical political situations of the revolution. The president met the situation squarely, asking for the resignation of the Cabinet, which included Garrido Canabal and other radical *Callistas* who had led in religious persecutions. General Calles himself announced that he was withdrawing from political life. A more moderate Cabinet was appointed, Garrido and other extremist elements were removed even from dominance in their own states, the decree forbidding the circulation of religious publications was withdrawn, and the provisions for socialistic education were softened to exclude teaching against religion.

The Protestant movement, which was begun by forces in the United States though it has grown to be largely a Mexican movement, accepted the provisions of the Constitution on religion. Mexicans assumed the pastorate of all churches, and the church edifices, many erected with foreign funds, were officially turned over to the Mexican government. While churches, with few exceptions, have never closed and regular services have continued, work has been considerably hampered because of these provisions of the government. Recently various mission schools have been closed, but property and staffs have been used to open homes for students attending government schools, for social service in city and rural centers, and for the publication and distribution of character-building literature. The leaders have sympathized with the social program of the revolution, but they are deeply concerned lest the government make its present opposition to religion a permanent program.

In a recent statement Mexican directors of the young Protestant church declared:

> The Evangelicals are whole-heartedly for the revolution, that is, the great social movement for the uplift of the Mexican people. It would be difficult to find a Protestant in Mexico who would exchange the present situation with all its manifest shortcomings for the ' good old days of Porfirio Díaz ' and their international feudalism. Protestants, however, while loyally seeking to support the present administration and obeying the law so far as they can do so without denying their faith, look with alarm upon the Marxist and antireligious tendencies of much of today's legislation, such as the limitation of freedom of thought and religious expression.

The expulsion of General Calles from the republic on April 11, 1936, seemed to signify that the Cárdenas government was refusing not only his advice to curb labor, but also the demand in his celebrated speech in Guadalajara that " we must now take possession of the conscience of the children because they belong to the revolution, which must not fail to rescue them from the claws of the clericals." That the Mexican people would resist to the last any such doctrine was made clear to President Cárdenas when he adopted the custom of governing not so much from the national palace as by continual visits to every part of the republic, where he talked directly with the people. After overwhelming protests by all classes of people in every part of the country against the government's instructions to teachers to preach godlessness or to work against religion, the president took occasion to declare on various occasions that

> it is not the government's business to develop campaigns against religion, in which nothing is accomplished but the sterile expenditure of the energy of public servants, the provoking of resistance and the postponing indefinitely of the realization of our basically important social and economic program.

THE HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Education. Whatever have been the abuses of the revolution, it is unanimously admitted that the rural school movement has bestowed untold blessings upon a class of people who previously had been almost completely neglected. During Madero's administration only three hundred thousand pesos were appropriated annually for education. When Obregón became president, he appointed a minister of education as a full member of his Cabinet. He selected a man who, while he knew little of the technique of education, had abounding enthusiasm coupled with a tremendous power for work — José Vasconcelos. It was not long before Vasconcelos had profoundly stirred the country to realize the need of education. He secured the unheard-of appropriation of forty-five million pesos nacionales per annum for his department. He appealed to the young people to consecrate themselves in the spirit of the early missionaries in order to eliminate illiteracy and to take, not simply the three R's, but the message of the revolution to the remotest Indian village. He inaugurated a campaign of publishing books, of opening libraries, of extending universities, and of countless other methods of educating the masses. Later political complications removed him from the scene, but the enthusiasm he generated has continued and the technique has been greatly improved through men like Moisés Sáenz, Rafael Ramírez and Manuel Gamio, who would be recognized as great educators in any country.

Of all the educational developments known to the writer today the most unique is the rural school movement of Mexico. It is so because it grew out of the rural situation itself, was begun and continues to be carried on by the rural teachers themselves — usually natives of the neighborhood where they teach, who use their influence not simply to teach letters but to remake the whole community. Indeed, instruction in reading and writing and mastering textbooks at times seems to be a very minor part of the program. Because John Dewey visited Mexico at one time and commended these schools, some North Americans, easily persuaded that their country has given to the rest of the world most of the good things it possesses, believe that Professor Dewey was the originator of the system. But the rural schools originated long before any of its leaders heard of that noted advocate of the project method, for early in the revolution a congressional committee was appointed to work on the problem.

Some of the fundamentals of these schools are the following: With the community as the center adults as well as children become an integral part of the educational system. Initiative and self-help are primary. Before a school is opened the leading people of the community, usually Indian chiefs or farmers, present a request for such a school to the educational officials, promising to do their share in its development (furnishing a schoolhouse, giving a part of their communal lands, providing the teacher by turns with a home, working in the school garden, improving land for playgrounds, pledging the faithful attendance of adults as well as children, etc.). The community is organized under the rural teacher to carry on every conceivable kind of improvement: streets are cleaned, houses are painted, alcoholism is combated, flies are swatted, people are vaccinated, festivities are attended en masse, and the community witnesses games and sports with enthusiasm hitherto unknown. At the same time the community begins to understand that it is at once part of a nation that is developing and of an interesting world that is continually changing.

By this method of having the people themselves ask for the school and co-operate in developing it, the whole community begins to learn as soon as it begins to make the chairs and tables, clear the ground, plant the garden and help in financial support. Schooling is not postponed until the blackboards and books are ready for use. For example, the schoolhouse is built little by little, the government contributing certain materials like the doors or joists while the neighbors contribute the work and whatever material they are able to secure. Thus two ends are served: the community becomes devoted to the program and the government is able, with its limited funds, to extend the school system. The Mexican scheme depends more largely on the enthusiasm of the young teachers than it does on large funds and good equipment.

The school building adjoins the community's little church, an old edifice; in such a faraway place, of course, there is no regular parish priest. The neighbors themselves whitewash the church in order to make it appear as spick and span as the new school building. The two buildings represent in the minds of the neighbors a contrast which might grow to be more marked in the coming years. According to Minister Sáenz:

> This situation is indicative of the test which the church in Mexico is going to meet in the future. Everywhere the school is taking the lead in the community life, teaching the people all kinds of ways of bettering the economic, social and spiritual state. If the church will co-operate and its leaders help in this social program and not hang off it will come to have an entirely new and profound influence. But if it refuses to enter into this new spirit, it will soon find itself isolated from the people.

The organization of co-operatives is an important part of this transformation of rural life. The co-operative stores in the little villages are crowded, for they sell cheaply to the neighbors. Such stores are usually violently opposed by capitalistic groups, attacked by other merchants and defended by the peasants, for products usually bring more to the producer and sell at less to the consumer.

The rural school is spreading the idea of socialism naturally, through its very activities. The Producers' League of Guadalajara petitioned Congress recently to be transformed into a socialist republic managed by workmen. The proposal caused no alarm, for such ideas are not viewed as dangerous.

The morale of the teacher is greatly strengthened by cultural missions. These are made up of experts armed with a definite program who travel through the country all the year round organizing teachers' institutes which last for periods of about four weeks. All the primary and rural teachers who are paid by the federal government are obliged to attend these institutes. The team forming each mission is composed generally of an expert in education, a teacher of physical culture, an expert in rural industries, a teacher of agriculture, a teacher of painting and popular arts, a teacher of music and singing, and a social worker. These specialists are all carefully chosen and each year before starting on their tour they receive new and specific training during a period of two months.

The rural teachers attend classes that train them in small rural industries, hygiene, nursery activities, domestic economy, music and community singing. They are taught calisthenics and devote a great deal of time to games and sports as well as to the cultivation and appreciation of the popular arts of Mexico. Under the direction of the leaders of the mission they make a survey of the village in which the institute happens to be held, and attempt to help the inhabitants in their more urgent needs — a form of practical training which is for them invaluable. The villagers do not sit idly as bewildered spectators; stimulated by the example set by the working teachers, they too show an intense desire to learn, and participate with enthusiasm in the program of the mission.

The rural normal school is another part of the system which has been developed by necessity. In the early days it was found that the teachers who were brought from the cities to the rural school soon became dissatisfied with the narrowness of rural life. But the government did not have the funds with which to open rural normal schools. What should be done? A rural educational official, knowing that in Octopan there was a large old monastery which had not been used for a century, sent a selected group of enthusiastic teachers to investigate the site. They resolved to use the old ruin and the large farm surrounding it to found a normal school. "They were that beautiful type of wandering missionaries who accomplished marvels without a cent and only because of their love for God. Their saddlebags were empty of material and content but replete with dreams and illusions." At once they began the construction of classrooms and dormitories. They repaired the outhouses and got the land ready for cultivation, installed various industrial devices, built barns and cleared pastures. At the very beginning of the work the enrollment was opened so that boys and girls who presented themselves immediately became active not only in building but also in learning through working with the teacher and the other students.

Such normal schools have sprung up all over Mexico. The entrants usually have finished the six-grade primary school; they remain in the institution two or three years, according to their capacity, pursuing cultural and professional studies and being taught a scientific approach to agriculture, the arts and rural industries.

The normal school at Octopan is co-educational; the young people mingle in a natural way and few problems of immorality have arisen. The boys sleep on one side of the building and the girls on the other. Most of the young people in the school are pure-blooded Indians, though practically all speak Spanish. The leader of the orchestra and the chorus is a pure-blooded Indian boy who a few years ago spoke no Spanish. The students, who range from twelve to seventeen years of age, have three years of training. There are four sections of instruction: one on investigations, one on social service, one on agriculture and one on normal training. The two objects of the school are: first, to train citizens who may become farmers, merchants, officials, and who, knowing something about agriculture and social service, may be a help to a community; second, to train teachers for the rural primary schools. The students, like the teachers, make excursions into the country and work in communities to transform the modes of living.

The young teachers of rural schools deliberately cultivate the friendship of the people in the neighboring communities. These people are lonely; they need a meeting place where they can come together, sing and talk — and this the schoolhouse provides. Since in many places there are no lights, each adult brings his own wax candle to the night school and sets it on the little desk which a child has occupied during the day. Groups of teachers, taking along with them first aid kits and hair clippers, spend Saturday and Sunday with the villagers, visiting the homes, singing, playing games, and talking about hygiene and civic life. Gradually the whole adjacent countryside is transformed.

The rural schoolteacher has come to consider himself the protector of the Indians from their new exploiters, who are not infrequently found among the governors and other officials. The Indian often appeals to the rural teacher, who has not failed at times to carry the fight for the exploited up to the highest authorities. In 1934 education for the Indians was given a new impetus when the Indian Institute in Mexico City was closed and the funds for that school were used to open, in different parts of the country, fourteen " Centers of Indigenous Education." The institute in Mexico City was organized some twelve years ago to show the people of Mexico that the Indian was responsive to education, and to train leaders for the Indian people. It was most successful in the first, but failed in the second because the boys did not desire to return to their tribal homes — a turn of events that seems logical, following as it does the principle of the rural department that education for country life is successful only when carried on in the country itself amid the pupils' own surroundings.

URBAN EDUCATION

In emphasizing the new rural school movement we do not mean to imply that the revolution has not also contributed to the reformation of urban schools, for it has. Its measures, however, have not been so universally adopted nor so uniformly successful, and especially not so free from political wire-pulling. Schools conducted by the states are often incredibly backward.

Mexico has four systems of education: federal, state, municipal and private. The tendency today is for the federal to take over or eliminate all the others. The ministry of education is now engaged in an open struggle to accomplish this aim. The states still maintain as far as they can their independent educational work, but many are gradually capitulating.

The Department of Education is now undertaking the immense task of educating the whole country in the principles of the revolution. It has recently issued a little book for children entitled *Fermín,* the first edition being five hundred thousand copies. It is the story of a poor country boy, the son of a peon who is bound to the land of a great estate. The sad life of this family is first described. Fermín's father, attracted to the revolution as a means of escaping exploitation, enters the new army, although he has been advised against it by the church and other conservative groups. When the revolution succeeds the father returns. The mother and boy find their home bettered, the father becomes a member of a group of neighbors that distributes and works the land. The whole community is greatly improved. The apt illustrations of the excellent, simple text are by Diego Rivera who, as the owners of several buildings in the United States have learned, believes that the primary use of art is propaganda.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE REVOLUTION EXPLAINED

A Brief History of Mexico is another book recently issued by the Department of Education. With all the modern technical skill it traces the history of Mexico from the early days down to the present, showing the revolution completely reorganizing the life of the nation. The treatment is remarkably frank, dealing quite differently from the orthodox text with such matters as the war between Mexico and the United States; for here the whole blame for the struggle is put not so much on the imperialism of the Yankee, but on the weakness of the Mexican leaders and their desire to exploit the lower classes. The last chapter gives the philosophy of the revolution itself, which is explained to Mexican youth as follows: The present radical tendency of the government is directed toward suppressing capitalistic private enterprises and bringing production into the hands of the new state directed largely by the workers. The formula of the Mexican revolution is interpreted as intervention by the state in economic production, vigilance and equilibrium (planned economy), and the participation of all social classes in the formation of a democratically functioning government. Private property is recognized, but with limitations as related to public interest. The revolution is described as an uprising of the working class, directed by an active minority, to secure political power.

With social and political reforms, there appear new systems of industrial and commercial procedure. The diminution of religious intervention in educational functions is intended to bring about the total separation of the church from the state. Other tendencies include the emancipation of women; the attempt to make more ample and less rigorous the ties of family; more state intervention in charity, education and public health; simplification of the old systems of administration of civil justice; humanizing of the penalties for crime (penalties to be considered as a defense of society and not as a punishment of the criminal). As for culture, it is declared that the revolution means the socialization of artistic, intellectual and philosophical life.

SOCIALISTIC EDUCATION

The latest battle in the long-drawn-out educational struggle developed in 1934 when the National Revolutionary party decided that it would ask Congress to reform article 3 of the 1917 Constitution so as to make education not simply secular — that is, entirely separate from religious teaching — but *social* — that is, definitely radical. The most radical elements in Congress desired that the article definitely declare for teaching against religion, and for the placing of all education in the hands of the state. But they were not able to carry their point. The most important part of article 3, as reformed in 1934, is the following declaration:

> Education imparted by the state shall be socialistic and besides excluding all religious doctrine shall combat fanaticism and prejudices, for which purpose the school shall organize its teachings and activities in a form that will develop among the youth a rational and exact concept of the universe and of social life. . . . Religious corporations, ministers of religion, corporations which exclusively or preferentially devote themselves to educational activities, or associations and societies connected directly or indirectly with the propaganda of a religious creed are not permitted to intervene in any form in primary, secondary or normal schools, nor to aid them economically. . . . The formation

> of plans, programs and methods of teaching belongs in all cases to the state. Private institutions cannot function without having obtained previously, in each case, the expressed authorization of public officials. The state may revoke at any time the authorization granted. . . .

No one knew what this wording might mean, but the antireligious elements in the government took every occasion to make extreme statements about the move against religion. Such interpretations created a tremendous furor all over the country. For the first time the Roman Catholics and the liberal educators in the universities found themselves together. Protests ending in bloody encounters were the order of the day. When the federal Department of Education announced that it intended to use the schools for the propaganda of socialism just as the Roman Catholic church had used them in other days for its religious propaganda, the national university, now autonomous, took a definite position in opposition to the ministry of education and a sharp cleavage developed between the two. Many of the best men in the department itself resigned because of limitations placed on their professional work by the ruling and because they refused to march in processions organized by the government to popularize its position. Even before the break between General Calles and President Cárdenas in June, 1935, the protests, all the way from the strike of the mothers (who sat on the school benches day after day, announcing to the teachers that their children would remain at home until they were assured there would be no teaching against God), to the dignified resistance of the leading professors of the university, had brought a softening of the rigorous rulings of the government. "All right, comrades, if you must believe in God, go ahead, but don't let the priests exploit you," was the reply of a member of President Cárdenas' staff to a group of *campesinos* who insisted that, with all their friendliness to the revolution, they would not give up their religion. It is estimated that violent protests against antireligious teachings were responsible for the death of some sixty rural teachers. With the retirement from leadership of General Calles it was hoped that the ministry of education would return to sanity and realize that the ideals of a liberal revolution could not be inculcated by fanaticizing in one realm in order to "defanaticize" in another.

THE SIX YEAR PLAN

For the first time in history the Mexican government has marked out a definite detailed plan for the future. The Six Year Plan, adopted at the Querétaro convention which nominated General Cárdenas for president, proposed

> a co-operative economic system tending toward socialism to secure a better distribution of the fruits of human toil, solving economic problems through an evolutionary process, transforming and replacing by powerful means the procedure of capitalism.

It sought to effect the distribution of lands and improvements in public works; to establish a minimum wage; to raise the standard of living; to further modern education; and to improve relations with foreign nations. It advocated the organization of thousands of co-operatives among farmers; the founding of rural banks for small and large proprietors; the construction of a nation-wide system of roads; the development of enterprises that will exploit the minerals, oil, lumber and electric power; the construction of communal works, schools, health centers and fields for sports. While all this is to be done with the help of the government, the vast field in which private initiative may co-operate includes the voluntary division of great landed estates; the improvement and enlarging of farming, mining and industrial plants; the establishing of banks and power plants; and innumerable other ways.

The revolution has become a religion. The government is that of a single group: the National Revolutionary party. Party discipline is absolute. Government employees from the president down to the most humble doorkeeper must obey, pay dues, march in propaganda demonstrations, and promise first loyalty to the party. Democracy is acclaimed; criticism is not ruthlessly ruled out, as in Italy or Germany, but opposition must be careful to maintain proper bounds!

The aims of the revolution are in some respects self-contradictory — to socialize all life and at the same time to develop private industry. The *via media* agreed on by the devotees both of revolution and of private initiative is half socialism, half capitalism (pseudo-socialism, the radical calls it; bolshevism, cries the conservative). It was to be an improvement on Soviet Russia in that it would permit Mexico to keep on fairly good terms with its powerful capitalistic neighbor of the North, which was finally persuaded to allow Mexico to adopt a liberal program — a kind of NRA–AAA program, let us say, at a time when in the United States government planning was still anathema. The first announcements regarding the Six Year Plan seemed to indicate that it was a distinct turn toward socialism. But a study of the plan reveals much emphasis on the protection of private property, although large private holdings that might give excessive power are condemned.

One of the difficulties in Mexico in carrying out any wholesale socialization, confiscation or regimenting of people for the general good, is that the people have before them the persistent fact that some of their leaders, while preaching socialism, become richer and richer. The Soviet program seemed to be impossible in Mexico because foreign capital next door is too strong to allow proletarian dictatorship. So socialism made terms with a controlled capitalism; but in this way it left an opportunity for the government official to socialize with one hand and cultivate his own private fortune with the other. Here is a weakness of the Mexican compromise experiment. If the bolsheviks, for example, brought down upon themselves the condemnation of the entire capitalistic world, at least their own people saw that the leaders were not enriching themselves, but shared a common lot with the workers. In Mexico the government officials often cannot base appeals for the people's loyalty on the personal sacrifices that officeholders are making for the cause. The fact that there has been much graft in government, that officials draw high salaries and not infrequently build up fortunes, tends to undermine the confidence of the people in the reform program.

The compromise with capital under Ambassador Morrow has also brought its problems. Capital has begun flowing in from the North again in the shape of banks, construction companies, assembly plants, factories, improved plantations, amusement centers and hotels. All these prevent the enforcement of articles 27 and 123 of the Constitution which provide for drastic labor, land and social reform. Recently the tourist has discovered Mexico, and although his manners are often objectionable, his money is most acceptable. So even less than formerly is it expedient to displease the foreigner. Following the tourist came the rise of Mexico's most famous product, silver, due to the nationalization of that metal in the United States. Thus when Cárdenas was elected Mexico was becoming prosperous — that is, urban, industrial, governmental Mexico. Regardless, therefore, of all the well laid leftist plans, the administration must face the question whether its program can allow prosperity to lead anywhere except to the right. At the time of this writing Mexico seems sensitive to and torn between two major trends: one desires the comforts and luxuries of modern industrialism; the other longs for freedom from outside interference, dominance of the common people, the simple but highly decorative life of the Indian, the slow, sure movements connected with a contented attachment to the native soil.

OF THE EARTH, EARTHY

The genius of the revolution is in the soil. Its success so far has been due to the fact that it is of the earth, earthy. The sweat of the brow mingled with the good earth is the very essence of the Mexican upheaval. It has developed not because of, but in spite of, its urban leaders. If it finally wins out, the victory will be one not of urban politicians, industrialists or trade unionists, but of those who love the land and are determined to control all else in order to control it. We are here facing a great uprising of forces from below, a bursting forth of the grievances of the native elements pent up for four hundred years. This fundamental fact is one reason why the revolution cannot be justly criticized by those watching the grafting government officials in the federal district and trying to interpret each " crisis " as indicating whether Mexico is going right or left. Mexico may not be a democracy — certainly not politically — but its people have a way of cleaning out the whole governmental crowd at the most unexpected time.

Emiliano Zapata is dead but his spirit lives and is creating a ferment in the heart of many an unknown Indian confronted with too much injustice. This is why it is so impossible for those who depend on statistics and the gossip of Mexico City, who have not lived and felt with the people themselves in the smaller towns and in the country, to get a clear understanding of Mexican happenings during the past twenty-five years. But, summing it all up, to one who has lived in Mexico both before and after the revolution and who has taught those who are now both in the government and against it, who has talked with crews and passengers on the trains, with teachers and parents in the rural schools, with miners on the frontier, *hacendados* on the *altiplano* and *campesinos* on the newly distributed government lands, the revolution seems to have liberated a new spirit.

Mexico today is showing what foreign domination for centuries covered up but could not eradicate — a unique genius. Neither the capitalistic Anglo-Saxon regime nor the individualistic Iberian culture is suited to it. It is a brown country. Whites are decreasing, as are Indians. The mestizo, the mixed man, with some of the white but more of the Indian, is establishing his dominance. This means that the standardized white private-property-centered democracies cannot expect Mexico, if she is permitted to continue developing in her own way, to yield as she has previously yielded to foreign pressure. Allowed to be himself, the brown, communal Southern American, taking what seems best from the white North American and European industrialist, may prove that such an original combination has something valuable for world life.

Probably the important thing in this whole upheaval is that Mexico should cast off her shackles and search out for herself her own way. With a real freedom she may be able again to contribute to civilization something original, as did the Mayas — the last really free Mexicans — who worked out their own architecture, calendar and system of writing. And, if she keeps and increases that freedom, the future may show that those aspects of the revolution which have most excited the public — the curbing of the oil barons, the breaking up of a few of the big estates, the persecution of the church — are only minor incidents in the great struggle of Mexico for self-expression.

XXI

WHAT NEXT?

WILL OTHER countries in Hispanic America follow the lead of evolutionary Uruguay or of revolutionary Mexico, or will they find still other ways to tackle their problems?

The fiery Chilean poet, Victor Domingo Silva, declares:

> Humble pride of mine, if at this unquiet hour
> A bell should be made of all my poems
> To ring out to glory — a poet, perchance, I am,
> But rather than a poet, I am a revolutionist!

But there are others who are like the businessman in Valparaiso who thanked me for an address — "all except what you said about revolution; that word makes me nervous." Many people who greatly admire the revolutions of a century ago roundly condemn the suggestion of a modern one. They adore heroes like Washington and Bolívar, whose turbulent lives are to them no more than dashing adventure stories. The armed revolts of a hundred years ago are for these people matters of flags and bands, of beautiful young women saying good-bye to noble young men, of brilliant receptions to idealistic generals who won a cause recognized as absolutely just by the whole world. They forget that the only difference between Washington and Bolívar, and many who have been called traitors, is that the latter failed while the former were successful. To George III and Ferdinand VII the word revolution was equally repugnant, and Washington and Bolívar were just as much traitors as is, for modern defenders of the status quo, any individual today who has the temerity to demand the correction of abuses and the development of a better social order.

But it seems fairly clear to many that it is now time to reorganize civilization; that such a reorganization ought to come through pacific processes, employing the great modern scientific developments which former generations did not possess; but that if those in power block peaceful evolution, then the new order will come through revolution. Just as "revolution" came to be the most popular word in North America in 1775, in France in 1789 and in Hispanic America in 1810, so it may again. In those days the struggle was for political democracy. Today it is for economic democracy. For today, when the industrial era affects so profoundly every individual, his right to vote is of little importance if he has not also the right to eat. Here is the most fundamental shift in the thinking of Latin Americans. Every reform movement by students, by laborers, by educators, by political leaders, is insisting that idealism be definitely linked to practical plans for bettering the economic condition of the people.

Thomas Jefferson declared more than once that a revolution every so often was a good thing to invigorate a country. But since his day the ultra-development of industrialism and private property has increasingly condemned any movement of protest which might disturb its order and profits. Latin America has experienced this same contraction of freedom of revolt with the spread of industrialism. American governments have even signed treaties agreeing not to recognize any administration set up by armed force. And certainly it is clear that today, much more than in the days of Jefferson, our life is so complicated and interdependent that a revolution in any small sector of the globe may disturb the equilibrium of distant lands.

However, we may be quite sure that today, as in the past, in that eternal struggle to strike the balance between order and justice any virile people will finally decide to disturb the public order rather than to suffer injustice beyond a certain point. Thus we have recently seen inaugurated a new revolutionary period led by countries like Mexico, Russia and Turkey, who have profoundly reorganized their whole life toward more fundamental social justice. It is not unlikely, then, that other countries which are unable to secure such justice by pacific means will follow the example of the bolder countries. In Latin America the victims of social injustice have given much study to the Mexican and Russian experiments. The long lines of hungry people I have recently seen waiting to seize a piece of bread in Valparaiso, of starving women and children walking the streets of Lima, the crowds without work in the slums of Buenos Aires, the army of poor without bread or hope in the cane fields of Cuba — all these are apt soldiers for revolution if they find leaders such as appeared in Mexico, China and Russia.

The revolutionary movement of Mexico I have followed very closely. Many of my students in *El Instituto del Pueblo* in Piedras Negras, Coahuila, learned their first lesson in the science of politics in the institute's night classes and in the debating society. About two hundred enlisted in the revolution and some of them came to occupy prominent positions in the new order. When we erected the institute's building in the days of Porfirio Díaz, we went to much trouble to secure the most prominent place in the city in front of the beautiful federal customs house. The result was that when the revolution came our important frontier city was often the battleground and we found ourselves in the center of danger. At times the corner where we worked and lived was filled with small cannon to defend the customs house, while the cannon of the enemy in the hills were trained on the building we had struggled so earnestly and innocently to secure.

During some six months of the year 1913, the customs house served as headquarters for the revolutionary forces of Carranza. He and I used to discuss nearly every day the educational problems of Mexico. That was a never-to-be-forgotten morning when my wife and I took the Carranza family in our family coach, which I myself drove, and carried them to the other side of the Rio Grande. On coming to the center of the International Bridge where a tablet marked the dividing line between the two nations, the old federal senator, now turned revolutionist, stepped down from the coach with the dignity of an old Roman. The rest of us followed. He said good-bye with rigid calm, and as we drove toward Texas, he returned on foot to his native land to head the movement toward Sonora and then south which was to result in his becoming " First Constitutional Chief in Charge of the Executive Power."

A little while after Carranza left our city it was taken by the federal general Maas, who commanded the most formidable army that had ever been seen in the frontier. He brought with him a long "blacklist" on which my name appeared. Practically the whole population fled to the other side of the Rio Grande. The stores, banks and schools were closed. But on such occasions the ministries of a social institute are more necessary than ever. Although General Maas told me that the institute was a "center of revolution" and that he had instructions to close it, we gave ourselves day and night to ministering to the soldiers and to the thousands of poor refugees who had nothing to eat. The general told me that I must regard "the city as a prison" until they could decide what to do with such a rare bird.

One night I was standing in the door of the institute reading room, when all at once a mob swung into our street, yelling with all its might, "Death to the foreigners!" It was too late for me to make an orderly retreat. So, saluting some of the mob that I recognized, I joined the group myself, crying at the top of my voice, "Death to the foreigners!" I marched along with the crowd, matching my yells with theirs. We arrived at the railway station. But finding no one there that looked like a foreigner, the mob broke up and various of the "terrorists" returned with me to our reading room. Days and weeks passed — filled with many most interesting experiences which there is no time to relate here — and finally the revolutionists retook the city.

Fourteen years after that experience I was lecturing in the University of Mexico when, on my criticizing the Mexicans for their inability to unite, a gentleman said to me: "You ought to be very thankful to us Mexicans for this characteristic of individualism. You owe your life to it. In 1913 we had meetings every night for a month to decide what we would do with you. But we could never come together on the question, so we never did anything." (Which reminds me that the Anglo-Saxon adage, "Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today," is not nearly so good, on certain occasions, as the Latin one, "Never do today what you can postpone till tomorrow.")

Instead of spending our time wondering what we can do to save the present order, would it not be better to turn from the defeatist attitude and begin to work realistically for a new order? Would it not be well for all of us to begin to philosophize a bit about the various kinds of revolutions, with their various degrees of both good and bad? One of the best ways to escape revolution today, it seems, is to prepare to welcome it. Hunger is a chief cause of revolution. Seldom are protests and parades converted into armed convulsions if there is not real hunger among the protesters. But the lower classes who are suffering most are not the ones that begin the revolution. The real revolutionists — I do not refer to those in barracks uprisings — are usually a few idealists who see the misery of the people and who themselves suffer from lack of liberty in expression of opinion. These, when they become disgusted with the futility of peaceful agitation, unite with the army and at the same time incite the exploited masses to help.

Do revolutions bring the desired results?

There comes a time in the life of every people when, if they can find no other means of liberating themselves from unbearable exploitation, they will take up arms in order to secure justice. Terrible are the results — loss of the finest of the nation's manhood, closing of the country's educational and spiritual institutions, growth of hatreds, lowering of moral standards. And when peace comes, there is the long, costly road back to material and spiritual reconstruction. Historians are now beginning to point out that many revolutions, like our own in 1775, might have been avoided had the authorities on both sides shown more patience and wisdom. A recent example is found in Brazil, where there were no fundamental irreconcilable differences between the proud states and the determined federal authorities, but only certain questions of personalities and political dignity that might easily have been disposed of through tact and good will. But none was shown. So São Paulo threw itself into an armed movement against the central government, just as our southern states did against Washington. After three months of destructive warfare, with losses on both sides calculated at twenty thousand lives and a billion and a half contos in money, the slow road to reconstruction had to be found in the midst of smoldering resentments, broken hearts and empty pocketbooks. So in Argentina, which after forty years of peace returned recently to revolution. What has she gained in expelling by force the aged, inept Irigoyen who was allowing his friends to rob the national treasury? He has been replaced by another government which, because it was not elected by a majority of the voters, must find its support among the reactionary elements, deny freedom of speech, ruthlessly intervene in local governments and persecute many leading citizens.

THE NEED FOR BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

Uruguay and Spain have shown us the way by their bloodless revolutions. Spain's expulsion of the king was the result of long preparation. Some twenty years ago a group of young liberals began to seek in many parts of the world the knowledge they would need to guide their nation into a real democracy. They went to Oxford, to Berlin, to Columbia, to Harvard, to the Sorbonne and various other intellectual centers to specialize in the art of government. The revolution in the soul of Spain took place ten years before the new republic was established. With the cruel repression of the general strike in 1917 and the defeat of the nation in Morocco in 1921, followed by the explosion against the king which led to the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, it was difficult to hold back revolutionary outbreaks until the intellectual elements felt that the movement had sufficient strength to carry through. But by close and sympathetic contacts with labor the leaders managed to withhold the blow until all was in readiness in April, 1931. Then, when Alfonso was shown how completely preparations were made for installing the republic, he silently entered his motor and departed from Madrid in the middle of the night, just as Dom Pedro, without the loss of one life, had quietly stepped on the boat in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro and sailed into exile forty-two years before. The unfortunate thing, in Spain, is that with all the patience shown by the reformers, the reactionary elements were not willing to give one inch and so themselves brought on the most terrible carnage the country has ever known.

But we should recognize that not all have the intelligence or the patience to make such deliberate preparation, and also that at times abuses are so great that a people are not willing to wait for the slow methods of education. Under such conditions, the socially minded idealist faces a difficult alternative. The pacifist movement has been of exceedingly slow growth in the South. In spite of idealism, defense of one's *dignidad,* personal or national, stirs much hot blood. Nevertheless, an increasing number of idealistic youth are now questioning the wisdom of resistance through arms. But if the idealist believes that justice cannot wait on the slower methods of education, then he must decide to use social coercion and resistance as means of securing action. That is, he comes to accept to a certain extent the necessity of struggle between the classes. When he is forced that far, he begins to wrestle with the question of whether struggle cannot be limited to methods of non-violence. If so, what are such methods? In a search for an answer Latin-American youth is beginning to study the ways of non-violent resisters, like Mahatma Gandhi, who have combined moral and spiritual principles to make an effective protest against abuses and to compel unwilling officials to grant justice.

South America needs desperately to discover some means of securing justice which, while it would not too greatly arouse opposition nor throw the present order into chaos, would effect changes more rapidly that can the slower processes of education. Recent revolutions on this continent have been started almost always by students, the idealists. As they have not been able alone to carry out their plans, the military has been invited to help. The generals, pluming themselves as angels of goodness, promise the students to co-operate in the reform program. But when the blow is struck and the generals come into power they turn their backs on the idealists and do what the militarists always do — begin to hound every man who does not unconditionally bow the knee to them. Has this not been the story recently in Peru, Chile, Cuba and other countries where the idealists who began a program of violence in favor of the most just of reforms often rot in prisons, while their friends are so persecuted that they do not dare even to send a wholesome meal to the fellow-revolutionists slowly dying the martyr's death?

NEED FOR UNITY OF LIBERALS

Much power for reform, both in North and South America, could be developed if a closer unity could be made to prevail among all the open-minded people of the continent. But they are frightfully ignorant of one another. Such groups in the South usually believe that everyone in the North is helplessly bound up in a business and imperialistic order. In South America, as in Spain, I have talked recently with a large number of people who believe that we must move into a very much more socialized world. They should unite with those in the North who ask: Why cling to an order in which there is more hunger that ever at a time when the farms and factories are overproducing; in which unemployment is multiplying while there is more work needed than ever before; in which militarism is growing as rapidly as are the limitations on freedom of speech; in which dictators flourish in proportion to the numbers of theoretical democracies; in which wars, more fatal than ever because of scientific contributions to destruction, increase apace with the treaties declaring the outlawry of war — who wants to continue such an order? The need for the open-minded, socially minded, spiritually minded people of our countries to get together and seek a new orientation of civilization — this need was impressed on me overwhelmingly during my recent association with Southern liberals.

The word liberal as used here is not to be taken in any of the restricted senses — not, for instance, as denominating any political party or particular school of thought, such as that of 1789. Any other word that would describe the open-minded attitude toward a new social order would be just as acceptable. The term is in disrepute today because of the liberal's lack of the emotional drive shown by the fanatical devotee of communism or other extreme programs. But it is a noble word, and its adherents must take action toward their goal if the world is not to be delivered over to dictatorships either of the extreme right or of the extreme left with all free expression of opinion denied.

That such action is possible is illustrated by the United States government's recent change of policy in response to continued protests; specifically in its withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua and Haiti and in its resistance to the strong demands of vested interests to intervene in other countries where there have been serious disorders, as in Cuba and Salvador. As for Mexico, the victory that liberals in the United States have won in favor of a fair juridical adjustment of problems between the two governments has been notable; it stands as one of the greatest proofs of the power of the liberals when they persistently unite on a program.

The prospect for unity of liberals in the United States and in the South has become more hopeful since our country has turned to a socializing program. It was astonishing to see how much nearer to us the progressive elements in Latin America began to feel themselves when they saw our government showing more interest in taking care of the poor at home than in protecting the great corporations and international bankers abroad. Dr. Puig Casseranc, head of the Mexican delegation at the seventh Pan-American conference, actually made an impassioned appeal to all the Latin-American delegates to back the United States delegation because the New Deal at home would undoubtedly mean cessation of the old protection of exploiting North American capitalists in Latin-American countries. There is a general feeling that a Northern government which exposes the dishonest transactions of the power and petroleum trusts, of the international bankers and munition makers, must have a fresh sympathy with the liberal elements in Latin America who have been protesting against the unholy alliances between their own dictators and the North American exploiters.

The revolution in Mexico, the New Deal in the United States, the Apra in Peru, and various other reform movements in the countries of America, all differ according to the differing problems they face. But each is working toward a larger socialization of economic life which will give every citizen a degree of happiness while preserving the rights of free speech, of universal suffrage and of limited private property. If the United States and Latin America find themselves sympathetic in working for a new social order, there is a much greater chance than in the past that Latin America's progress will be by way of growing pains rather than violent revolutions.

SOUTHERN THOUGHT

Suppose now, supplementing these views of a North American, we have a panel discussion by a few of our Southern friends, representing various schools of thought, concerning their ideas of the New Day. We call first on the brilliant young literary critic of Peru, Professor Luis Alberto Sánchez:

> Two forms of our Indo-American inferiority are represented by Alcibiades and Narcissus. Alcibiades attracted attention to himself in a thousand different ways and when other methods were exhausted, he cut off the tail of his dog. The vanity which in Alcibiades was comic, in Narcissus became tragic, for the latter became enamored of himself. Narcissus would die of love, Alcibiades would die of showing off. Few people have been as vain as our upper classes. They copied a little of Paris, learned to speak bad French, took over an imitation democracy and culture, and attracted attention to themselves by cutting off the tails of their dogs. In the meantime, Indian America lived within itself, suffered not simply from love of its image but from fear of it, developing into the anti-Narcissus. Our leaders, by placing themselves on exhibition, sacrificed their best. They fled from self-knowledge, the valuable side of the Narcissus spirit. Today our first task is to know ourselves. As for Alcibiades, defeated he must come to realize that the supposed scepter in his hand is nothing more than the famous tail which he cut from his dog![1]

Next we call on a young Chilean social worker, a former student in Boston University — Pedro Zotelle:

> We might as well realize that the capitalistic order of today is doomed. It is anti-Christian, anti-ethical and antisocial, for it is based largely on egotistical desires. We cannot consider as normal a system that permits Chile to spend some two hundred and fifty million pesos per annum on its military and only twenty-six million on the health of the people, who are prostrate with typhus, malnutrition, unemployment, alcoholism, incapacitated to help themselves. We are at the crossroads. Shall we take the way of violence or of evolution? We must answer the question ourselves. It is not violence we need, in spite of the blindness of the privileged and the incapacity of the gov-

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[1] *La Nueva democracia,* Feb. 1935. In this magazine, published in New York, appear continually articles from a number of the authors here quoted; thus it provides probably the best forum in Spanish for forward-looking South Americans.

> erning class. We need the revolution of the spirit, that which will make the Chilean a new man in tastes, in aspirations, in independence of character. . . . How can we secure this revolution? By education, by enlarging our culture in city and country, by improved hygiene, physical and mental, by control of vice and antisocial conduct. This revolution must be carried forward by those who believe in the capabilities of human nature, by revolutionists like Jesus who seek the renovation of man and of environment.

Luis Monsalve Pozo, warm-hearted, tropical Ecuadorian youth, says:

> Indo-Americanism turns its back on the utilitarians and imperialists who obscure the Indian's horizon; for us they are all alike — Wilson, Coolidge, Roosevelt, Alcalá Zamora, Pius XI and Stalin. The new organization, the child of a profound and real social revolution, will have as its foundation the purest socialism formed by the government, with a new economic model for this continent, only taking into account ancestral America. It will have as its ethnic basis the combination of Indians, mestizos, mulattoes and zambos. Neither Rome nor Moscow is imperative in our socialization. We must form our own organization according to our own realities. Behold the man of America, the Indian, the mestizo! [2]

" What interests us in these national commotions," say other Ecuadorian youths, speaking through their review, *América,* " is not what general may have been executed by the orders of some other general, but what is the destiny of the cane-cutter of Cuba, the coffee-planter in Brazil, the peon on the Argentine stock-farm, the miner in Peru, the grape cultivator in Chile; in a word, what interests us is the destiny of the proletariat."

Let us hear from a middle-of-the-road liberal, an attorney for some of the big business concerns in Buenos Aires, yet well known for his sympathies for liberal thought — Dr. Enrique Gil, who has just returned from a trip to Russia and Italy:

> We have a job that is not so complex but more direct, less brilliant, the simple job of putting our house in order. The solution of our problems does not lie on the road to Rome or to Moscow. Without egotism, without passion, with serenity and good sense, following our own traditions and liberal institutions, it will be easy for us to put our house in order and thus maintain and augment our prestige, securing

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[2] *Indo-América,* Cuenca, 1934.

the continued collaboration of other people in our progress. We would say then we shall not abandon our faith in the future of essential democracy.

Here is Don Carlos Keller, a Chilean liberal of the type of Stuart Chase, who writes much on social questions:

> The Spanish conquistadors fixed such profound roots in our continent that a century of independence has not been able to uproot them. If now a modern society is demanded in which the state intervenes in order to eliminate anarchy in economic life, it is important to see that we do not fall into greater dangers because of government intervention. A military dictatorship cannot give us the kind of strong, free state we need. Our cultural problem is fundamental. In order to substitute for stereotyped ideas a live conception of the universe we must bury many false gods. Nature is prodigious and our race is strong. Where lies the fault then? We try to blame the government but the faults of the government are noted in each individual Chilean. Our eternal crisis is caused especially by our intellectual sins. We might organize our state on a communistic, socialistic, liberal or conservative basis, but if we do not reorganize our mentality the crisis will not disappear. The elemental problems are eternally human; righteousness, the desire to work, the will to rise honorably, to build slowly and carefully a material and spiritual castle that no one can take from us. A new generation has been born. In its early years it experienced the passionate sensations of a world in convulsion. It watched the fantastic orgies of public speculation; it suffered deception concerning its ideals of human redemption — a spiritual martyrdom during a crisis which seems to have no ending. But today these youth are showing a will and a determination that will produce the necessary reform.[3]

Our forum should, of course, include the Mexican educator, Moisés Sáenz, well known to all who have studied the Mexican Indian schools:

> Unity is our crying need! For some time I have been dreaming a dream. In the ex-convent of Tepoztlán, one of the noble structures of this country, the product of Christian faith and of pagan hands, in itself a synthesis in stone of the Spanish and the Indian, a thing Mexican, I have pictured a retreat where the men and the women of my country, leaders of this generation, may come for light and inspiration, to purify their souls, to affirm their ideals, to gain a vision of the Mexico which has been and of the Mexico which we may yet make. In the cells of the old convent, these seekers after truth will dwell during their short stay. There will be a large living room where they can meet, a com-

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[3] *La eterna crisis chilena* (Santiago, 1930), pp. 319–20.

> mon dining room for all, and a library, a non-partisan library, fulfilling the only condition that its books shall give light and produce life.
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> There shall be teachers in this house, great and noble spirits who have themselves reached the summit of serenity where life becomes, in truth, an undivided whole. Among these teachers will be the artist, the musician, the painter, the poet, the sculptor; they alone seem to possess the power of the unity we seek. . . . Men of all creeds will come, and, who can tell, we might arrive at a formula harmonizing what is fundamental in the pagan and the Christian. . . . There must be cultural integration. A mestizo body must have a mestizo soul. Trying to apply the Nordic standard of the white man is both unjust and futile. Let our civilization bravely accept the basic fact of our Indo-Iberic mixture, let our Indian have a voice and we may create a new world.[4]

Next we call Dr. Alfredo Palacios of Buenos Aires, no longer a young man, but one who, since the passing of José Ingenieros, stands for the radical intellectuals, eternally young, calling for a united Latin America, though little aware of the new Indian movement:

> The fraternal past entered into by the Latin-American Union affirms our unity, one very distinct from Pan-Americanism, which is the fruit of the imperialistic ideas of North American capitalists. This work is being carried on without hatreds. University students who preach the development of a new American era are not the enemies of the United States. We recognize the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon race but for that reason we do not wish to deny our own which are quite different from theirs. While the United States adopted the motto "America for the Americans," we have adopted the motto "America for humanity." . . . The United States has complied with its mission of incomparable domination of the material. We need today to begin our own mission, that of interpreting the spirit.[5]

In order to appreciate the central emphasis given by the younger school of Southern thought to the economic, let us read the vigorous statements of the lamented Peruvian leader, José Carlos Mariátegui:

> Those of us who study the Indian problem from the socialist standpoint begin by declaring their absolute separation from the point of view of the humanitarians and philanthropists who continue the apostolic battle of Padre de las Casas. Our first endeavor must be to establish the fundamental economic character of this problem. We protest

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[4] *Mexico, An Appeal and a Forecast* (New York, 1929), pp. 12–14.

[5] *El ideal de las democracias ibero-americanas* (La Plata, 1923), p. 12.

against the instinctive tendency to reduce this problem exclusively to one of pedagogy, ethics or morals in order to escape the total cost of an economic solution. We are not content with revising the rights of the Indian, his culture, his progress, his appreciation or his place in heaven. We begin by indicating his right to the land.

To close this discussion let us call again upon a representative of youth, Luis Alberto Sánchez, who, in striking at the new combination of the practical and the ideal for Hispanic America, declares:

> America today for the first time is producing mysticism. It began with Rodó's *Ariel,* but there it was based on skepticism and on desperation. Today it is not so much desperation as it is exasperation, and mysticism will prevent our exasperation from passing into desperation. . . . To know one's self, one's America! This signifies a rising above one's individuality, an examination of the means at one's disposal, an identification with a chosen destiny and a decision to sacrifice one's all for this new discovery. The messianic and the mystical are different, but in the social realm they join and are lost in each other. The absolute identification of one's self with his ideal is necessary if he is to sacrifice himself for it — to stand on one's feet but to be guided by an ideal — to be materially concrete but spiritually powerful. This mysticism is changing into messianic power today in America — tense, vibrant, in the pursuit and development of its new found truth.[6]

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[6] *La Nueva democracia,* Feb. 1935.

XXII

POETS VERSUS ENGINEERS

MORE CHANGES are likely to occur in Latin America in the next twenty-five years than have taken place in the last four hundred. Science, which developed gradually in Europe and North America as inventions were perfected, has come with a rush to South America. Even within the present century cities which are today among the world's most beautiful were shunned by travelers; Rio de Janeiro, where these lines are written, was a pest hole of yellow fever, and Buenos Aires was a fifth-rate mud-bedeviled municipality. Of a sudden the machine eliminates distances, takes over much of the continent's manual labor, and brings new comforts to the resident in the tropics and on the *altiplano*. Advanced social conceptions and new appreciation of public health problems sweep the nations. Women, after centuries of seclusion, suddenly enter public life.

Latin America is probably coming into a period when she will have more freedom of choice than she ever before enjoyed. It is not likely that, with the withdrawal of the United States marines from the Caribbean countries and the signing of a non-intervention treaty with Latin America, the former domineering will continue, most especially since the evidence of the bad results of the old policy grows daily. Neither is it likely, because of past failure and of changed conditions, that the old complete foreign financial dominance will continue and that North American bankers will again engage in such an orgy of loans to South Americans as was the case during the first ten years following the World War. Just as the United States after long financial bondage to Europe developed her own capital, so no doubt Latin America will do the same.

With both Europe and North America engrossed in their own problems, Latin America is strong enough in her own right to discourage efforts to superimpose cultural ideas from outside. Here is one of the few parts of the world where the intellectual classes, although familiar with European and North American cultural, governmental and social theories, have not so unanimously favored efficiency and machinery as has the United States, nor adopted capitalism so completely as have France and England, nor accepted communism as has Russia. While these nations are old in culture they are young in economic and political independence. Religiously, many are turning from Roman Catholicism, but many more are turning to spiritualism and theosophy than are turning to Protestantism. Yet the thoughtful realize that their countries must soon find fundamental principles to guide them in solving their difficult questions. They cannot longer retain great illiterate classes, neglect fundamental principles of public health, nor ignore the needs of the great mass of peasants and Indians; nor can they, above all, fail longer to emphasize both moral and social principles in government as well as in education.

But does this mean, as many North Americans think, that the solutions of Southern problems must be sought in the same way as the North Americans have sought their solutions? To improve their lot, must the poets of the South all be turned into the engineers of the North? Must the average Southern youth now be shamed from writing verses and discussing the whyness of the universe, and be set to building bridges with toy "erectors" and making blueprints of skyscrapers? Must the idealist José Enrique Rodó be supplanted by the practical Orison Swett Marden? The engineer has added a great amount of comfort to life and lifted many a load from the back of the poor. But the poet too has mended many a broken heart, built many a bridge of fancy, many a cathedral eternal in the heavens. The question might be raised, whether Hispanic America could contribute more to the world in any other way than by dreaming dreams and seeing visions for a civilization threatened with complete surrender to the machine. We have here again the eternal struggle between the sociologist and the mystic, the practical man and the dreamer, Luther and Loyola, Henry Ford and Mahatma Gandhi, Sancho Panza and Don Quijote.

Of course, Northern material civilization is eating, and will continue to eat, into Southern life. But there is a tendency in the South to be more interested in becoming itself than in following Europe or North America. This means much for racial understanding, for one thing. For the first time there is hope of eliminating the age-long clash between the Iberian and the Indian. Mexico has already begun to lead the way in recognizing the values in the autochthonous peoples. Brazil, in insisting upon the miscegenation of Europeans, Indians, Negroes, Japanese and many other peoples, is daring the most fundamental racial experiment in the world. Colombia has recently laid new stress on the important characteristics which the African element has to contribute. Even Argentina, more definitely European than any of these countries, has recently renewed her appreciation of the gaucho's contribution to the national spirit. Some of the west coast and Central American countries are showing signs that they are proud rather than ashamed of being different from Europe.

With the inheritances from the communal life of the Indian, the individualism of the Spaniard and the sentimentality of the Negro, the imprisoned imagination of the Southerner may be set free. This helps, in the first place, to improve the political forms which heretofore have always been foreign to the genius of all three of the peoples who make up Latin America! Not the Indian nor the Iberian nor the African deeply desires political power, as does the Anglo-Saxon; and yet the Anglo-Saxon political organization, with every citizen a potential candidate for office and everyone supposedly interested in registering his choice, was the one unfortunately copied in the South.

The whole Iberian conception of the fundamentals of life is different from that of the Anglo-Saxon. For example, Oliveira Martins, in his remarkable *History of Iberian Civilizations,* speaks of the Spaniard's disposition to absorb God within himself rather than to seek to be absorbed by God, as would the Anglo-Saxon. The same thought processes determine his conception of sin. The sense of *sin,* as doing something wrong, as missing the mark of moral perfection set up by God, is often not felt by the religious Latin. For him sin is not something that will have bad social consequences but something that will keep him out of heaven.

Dr. Alfredo Colmo of Buenos Aires, in his *Sociología de América latina,* using the exaggerations permitted only to a member of the Latin family, declares:

> Almost all the defects to which I will refer are found in the morality of individual Argentines: lack of initiative and punctuality, always looking for " the turn " (the way to escape contracts and agreements, and even the law itself) — that is to say, seeking to escape all that places upon one an obligation. . . . I will content myself with putting down two things which seem to be of decisive importance. The first refers to the habit of lying. This is so general and so intensified that it seems to be a subconscious predisposition. The second matter is that we lack men. I mean men of sentiment, of will, of morality, of character, all that makes the individual a force, an efficient member of society through energy, honesty and superiority of aim. There are too many of us who have a merely relative mentality, with vague ideas concerning theories, systems, books and words — that is, persons who are everything but action, who even fight against the expansion of collective organization and of social energy.

What Dr. Colmo here assails is, of course, the Iberian tendency to carry individualism to the extreme. This characteristic, at its best, makes the Latin American of all men the most *simpático;* at its worst it prevents unity for a great cause and promotes jealousies, suspicions and crimes of passion. Some students believe it accounts for the overwhelming place of sex in the ordinary man's life and for Hispanic America's failure to originate great moral, scientific and spiritual reforms. It tends to make the ordinary person center his interest in himself and make him suppose that others are watching him closely. It accounts for vanity, excess of *amour propre,* presumption, the risking of all on a trifle, a bizarre attitude, the feeling that once having pledged oneself, one must go to his death rather than have it said he backed down. The exaggerated worship of courage is also a part of this trait which persuades a man that he is distinguished because of his romantic audacity and the insistent defense of his honor. Such are some of the ridiculous extremes of individualism and sentimentality.

Before the Hispanic people decide, however, that the remedy lies in turning themselves into industrialists, ought they not to consider the failures that the last few years have also made evident in a machine-dominated civilization? As a matter of fact, it is only since the adepts of industrialism have become so aware of its failures that its philosophers are suddenly beginning to visit Hispanic America. They are learning that since their own countries are becoming too methodical, too regimented, too largely controlled by mass action, human interest is found in lands where the individual is of primary importance. And when the cult of bigness is showing its falseness, when the biggest crops of coffee, sugar, wheat, the biggest output of petroleum, copper, automobiles, radios, dress suits, go hand in hand with the most suffering, when hunger and unemployment are stalking through the world as never before, it is natural that keen Southerners who were about to be converted to the worship of the great God of Things are today drawing back toward a fresh consideration of their old ideals. And well they may, for we ourselves are now seeing that our capitalistic machine economy dehumanizes life and makes man a thing.

If the Iberian peoples have been satisfied with less bathtubs, steam heat, automobiles and other comforts than have Anglo-Saxons, it is well to inquire whether this is due to their lack of ambition or to the fact that they are more interested in the inward than the outward, that they have a joy all their own in the exercise of their contemplative and imaginative faculties. Are not a number of things which we have been condemning in the Hispanic people after all admirable? There is the contemplative attitude, which outsiders have often dubbed laziness. But the industrialized community now finds it necessary, after its long period of mad, driving work, to turn to the five-day week and other means of encouraging leisure. We are happy and moral only when we are at work. Not so the Latin; he has never allowed himself to get caught in the mad rush for things to such an extent that he has no time for people. It would be interesting for the Spanish apologist for Anglo-Saxon thrift, who urges his people to adopt the philosophy of Benjamin Franklin, to come to the United States today and read the advertisements of the government pleading with the public to spend their savings and thus contribute to the public good.

"The difference between us Peruvians and you North Americans," said a friend to me in Lima, "is that if I suddenly come into possession of ten thousand dollars, my family and I start off to enjoy a trip to Europe, but you invest yours so as to get another ten thousand." It may be the Peruvians are not so far wrong as once we thought them to be. A large manufacturer of glass in Hartford, Connecticut, related to me an experience that illustrates the point. His firm patented a new process for speeding up production, and he decided he would make a trip to France to sell some of the new machines. When he interviewed the French glass-makers they all acknowledged the superiority of the new machines and the probability of larger profits if they were installed, but refused to buy on the ground that they were doing well already. Several generations of the family had been in the business and had made a good living out of it without too strenuous an effort; so they saw no reason why they should take on all the worry of installing new machines and discharging many of their faithful old workmen who would be unable to keep the pace of the new machines.

The Latin loathes standardization. How different is life north and south of the Rio Grande! North, the chain store, the chain hotel, the chain movie, standardized clothes, shoes, hats — all machine-made. But in Latin America everything is different. The houses, the hotels, the meals, the theaters may be inferior but they are not standardized. This dislike of standardization is connected no doubt with a characteristic which so marks the Iberian, that of sudden violent and passionate reaction either in favor of or against other persons or happenings. When expressed without reflection, passion does not make for conformity or discipline. It does, however, make for the dramatic, a quality that has its values even though it is as likely to lead to individualism in political and social institutions as it does in art, where today it is daring to blaze new trails.

As all students know, Spanish art and literature are primarily interested in man, not in nature. Visitors to the great Prado gallery in Madrid never get away from that fact, well illustrated by the remarkable collection of canvases by the greatest of Spanish artists, Velásquez, practically every one of whose paintings represents an outstanding personality. So the stupendous murals of Diego Rivera and of Orozco in Mexico center not in the great snow-capped volcanoes, but in enormous figures of men.

The Hispanic countries have never adopted the new cult of worshiping the businessman, whose voice has come to be considered inspired in industrialized nations. It is impossible for Latin Americans to understand why even Anglo-Saxon diplomats are always talking about business as though it were the only thing in life. The very words " business " and " businessman " with their modern connotations are difficult to translate into Portuguese or Spanish. A few years ago a distinguished group of Latin Americans visited the United States and were taken in a special train to various cities. They left more confused about our life than they were when they came. In New York they were entertained morning, noon and night by businessmen's associations of various kinds, with side trips to the Hippodrome, night clubs and Coney Island, which apparently the tired businessmen were supposed to enjoy. At Pittsburgh the visitors were taken to lunch at a pickle factory, then through the steel mills, and at night to a dinner given for them by the chamber of commerce, where they heard explained the greatness of the city as a business center. The guests appreciated the evidently well intended hospitality; but they went away without having seen or heard of those community educational, artistic and spiritual centers which in their native lands are considered the first things.

Something of the same tendency expresses itself in the different interpretations of religion by the two peoples. The Latin emphasizes the element of sacrifice and suffering; the Anglo-Saxon emphasizes the element of service. The Latin speaks much of life in the next world; the Anglo-Saxon thinks of religion as a practical present help. Not long ago one of our distinguished scientists, Robert Millikan, wrote an article setting forth his belief in religion as being in essence an observance of the Golden Rule. This article was republished in Latin America and a number of writers, including Julio Navarro Monzo of Argentina, attacked Millikan's idea as being fundamentally wrong and as explaining the weakness of religion among Northern peoples. Sr. Monzo, after citing the well known statement of Ortega y Gasset that one ought to see life from " the vertical rather than the horizontal " point of view, says:

> Millikan lamentably confounds religion and morals, which are two distinct activities. Morality is an endeavor to accommodate the individual to collective life; religion is an endeavor to accommodate man to an order superior to himself. What Jesus is attempting to do is not to form a conviction concerning the need of proceeding according to reciprocal principles, but to create a fraternal sentiment, the sentiment of dependence on the divine, something that is found even in the savage but which in the Christian is transformed into filial love. It is this dependence on the superhuman, this sense of communion between the human and the divine, that I am afraid is being lost today. If religion is reduced to morality it abandons its own resources. Conviction without love has very little power. The majority of North Americans seem to have a horror of metaphysics; they are interested only in the practical — a horrible word — in the visible, the tangible, the physical. They confound religion with the church, thanks to their mania for institutions. They judge the efficiency of an ecclesiastical organization by the number of its hospitals and clubs, not by the profundity of the character of its members. A purely moral Christian lacks the most important element of all religion; that is, he lacks awe and wonder. Society is worth much, but man is worth more.

The Anglo-Saxon is trained to suppress emotions. It is unmanly to shed tears, unwomanly to gush, unscientific to be influenced by feelings. He thinks it is " funny " to see men embrace on saying good-bye or to see a father kissing his son on both cheeks when he welcomes him home. The Southerner's handshaking, his offers to acquaintances of his house as a home, though he does not expect them to move in, is often interpreted by foreigners as signifying insincerity. But in fact it is fundamentally a demonstration of friendliness and hospitality which is perfectly natural. Such spontaneous friendliness often leads the Latin to offer and even to undertake for others something which is far beyond his ability to carry out. The spontaneity, the unrestrainedness, the at-home feeling so characteristic of the Latin American make him a notably fine host and an equally fine guest. This attitude, of course, promotes friendship — but admittedly it cuts down efficiency and is likely to make one late for an appointment. And such characteristics have meant that the Southerner has been left behind in many important fields of life where the scientific, calculating Northerner has succeeded.

The Iberian, as he faces the complications of life, reasons that while there is no ideal balance between the subjective and the objective, between desire and possession, there is no peace or happiness in simple possession of things. He who has four and desires eight is no less happy than he who possesses two and longs for two and a half. One man commits suicide because he and his family are starving, and another takes his life because he has lost all his fortune except two hundred fifty thousand dollars. Modern civilization is based on the production of an infinite number of commodities and the development of an infinite number of desires. This has created a problem impossible of solution. The level of life is constantly rising, demanding higher salaries. This mass production brings industrial rivalries which in turn produce spiritual tragedies. The spiritual problem becomes more troublesome than the economic.

One recognizes that the machine may bring many blessings so long as it is used as the servant and not as the master of man. But with all my soul I hope the Iberians will not sell their spiritual riches, their gift of dreaming, their willingness to sacrifice business success for friendship — all their mystic riches — for machines which are too generally and mistakenly believed to bring happiness.

Fortunately the Southerner's inferiority complex is disappearing. A lessening of sensitiveness to criticism, always a sign of growing strength and self-confidence, is evident along with less concern about defending one's *dignidad.* The disposition to ascribe national weakness to foreign imperialism is being replaced by more careful attention to nation-building. In the past the Latin American was likely himself to be overcritical of his own people but oversensitive to the criticism of outsiders. His increasing willingness to face the ugly facts of social backwardness will enable him to gather more careful statistics on the basis of which scientific programs of reform can be set up. Once he adapts scientific method to his own peculiar environment, the importation of modernistic ideas from foreign states will be checked. Although only foreign money and management will for some time be able to direct the enormous business corporations, foreigners are now being limited in their operations everywhere in Latin America.

It has been customary to think that Latin America is immensely rich and that foreign capital is abundantly available, so that the only problem in industrial development is that of bringing these two elements together. But even before the depression students like Manuel Gamio of Mexico, Jesús Semprum of Venezuela, Manuel Ugarte of Argentina, challenged this assumption. And now comes the first careful study of this subject published in English, *Ores and Industries in South America,* by two such authorities as H. F. Bain and T. T. Read. The gist of this study is that none of the South American countries has more than rudimentary facilities for manufacturing iron, steel or other industrial metals. Neither will the probable demand for these permit more than slow and simple development. Nothing like the rapid industrialization of Pennsylvania and Ohio, in the United States, can be expected in South America. These countries lack cheap fuel, and their natural resources as well as the people's thought habits favor agriculture as the dominant industry. Under national planning and national aspirations local industries may be expected to be stimulated and protected. But only where the physiography allows cheap distribution over a considerable territory, as in Argentina and Brazil, is it likely that such industries will be able to stand the competition of mass production in more favored industrial areas. The conclusion of Read and Bain is that in most sections it will probably continue to be more profitable to sell the surplus raw materials and purchase finished or semi-finished goods than it will be to manufacture on any very large scale.

Internationally, Latin America's characteristics of universality will mean a continued contribution to world peace. The first suggestion for compulsory arbitration of all disputes was made by Colombia, who signed treaties embodying this principle with Chile, Peru, Mexico and other nations in 1821–24. Alberdi in *The Crime of War,* written in 1876, suggested the principles of the Kellogg pact. Argentina and Chile reached an agreement on naval limitations twenty years before the Washington Naval Treaty and erected a statue, "Christ of the Andes," to commemorate the settlement of their boundary dispute. A memorable day for the author was one spent in watching a session of the council of the League of Nations in Geneva. France and Great Britain argued angrily all day over differences concerning the Saar valley question. When it seemed impossible to avoid a break, the delegate from little Uruguay proposed a formula which both nations accepted. This is illustrative of what may be expected of these Southern people who are such great believers in settling international — and indeed all — disputes through peaceful means.

Economic interests are likely to compel unity in the future much more than the surface political divisions are likely to frustrate it. The way in which economic interests today unite Chile and Peru after forty years of enmity over the political question of Tacna and Arica, suggests that the same might occur with other economically dependent sections, like the Chaco of Paraguay and Bolivia. What the old politicians have failed to do the young economists may accomplish. This might mean a return to some of the combinations of early days; for example, the formation of some four customs unions, composed of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay; of Chile, Bolivia and Peru; of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela; and of the five countries of Central America. If the economic motive continues to gain in importance over the political some such logical alignment of Latin-American states may be expected in order that they may force a more strategic place for themselves at the council table of the nations.

The strong have chosen to divide the world into " great powers " and " small powers," into advanced areas and backward areas. The first have what is called leadership: they know how to control other nations; they have ability to carry out far-reaching enterprises; they are inventive, resourceful, always driving ahead, always increasing their dominance over others. The Hispanic-American people are not of this group. But there is another kind of people. They specialize in the graces of life; they are courteous and hospitable; they lay stress on the arts of conversation and friendliness; they emphasize the dignity of life and the value of the individual. They believe that you must renounce success in order to possess your soul. To this cultural school belong the Southerners. They may never contribute important new institutions to the world, but they can produce great individuals.

Indications are not lacking that Ibero-America is about to enter into a period of original experiment which will have suggestions for the solution of the problems of other peoples. But even if she only enlarges her power of absorbing and interpreting other races, she will make an important contribution to the world's culture. The extent of this contribution will of course depend on how far the delightful personal qualities of the Southerners can be reinforced by virile loyalty to truth, everlasting insistence on moral principles, and continued sacrifice for difficult ideals, qualities the frequent absence of which we have been bound to note as we have proceeded in this study.

If the Southern nations cannot be expected to build great navies, conquer great stretches of foreign territory, push their economic dominance into large sections of the world, they may on the other hand be looked to, as ecumenically and juridically minded folk, to furnish constructive suggestions for blazing new highways to international friendship and to world organization.

This is all written, of course, with a view that takes it for granted that Latin America will be allowed to develop along its own lines, with no political dominance from the outside. But no one can tell in the present uncertain state of the world at what moment outside dictators, needing some new colonial venture in order to hold themselves in power, may add the use of force to present propaganda to dominate this most attractive of the less developed parts of the world. It is easy, in playing a favorite game of the "wise," to outline the future as follows: The Japanese-German alliance is against not Russia but America and is preparing for the time when Germany would move for colonies in Brazil, while Japan would keep the United States navy patroling the Pacific; Great Britain, having lost her dominance of the Mediterranean, will turn again to fortifying her possessions in the Caribbean as a part of a new drive for trade dominance in the south; communism is a menace to the independence of America — so Latin America as an independent entity has no future. But we go no further than pointing out the facts related to the tremendous efforts of the above-named countries, along with others, to secure commercial and cultural dominance in Hispanic America — principally because the world is so charged with explosive forces that before these lines are published new events might make the prophecy ridiculous. Also miracles have a way of happening and the wrath of dictators has had a strange way of ending up in the praise of democracy.

EPILOGUE

WHERE then does Latin America fit into the world scene? Suppose we think of the continents as separate parts of a puzzle picture that we must join together to make up a scheme for a united world. What is Latin America's place in this composite map? In the rapidly shifting world every continent has both a convex and a concave side, a centrifugal and a centripetal movement. Considering the most distant point first, we see Asia gradually being dominated by a relatively small country, Japan, which while it remains Oriental in psychology uses Western machinery to set the continent into the stream of world life. This process of making Asia mobile both for its own life and for influencing other continents will probably be the most important movement for many years. Africa is and will for some time be occupied with the struggle between the endeavors of imperialistic European nations to "civilize the backward population" and the growing resistant nationalism of the Africans who are struggling to attain self-determination, this antagonism being multiplied by rapidly growing divisions between the white and the black races.

In Europe the old struggle to maintain the balance of power seems destined to continue, with the rivalry now shifting to a life and death struggle between democracy and dictatorship, the latter being represented by the rival schools of communism, race-ism and fascism. In North America the struggle around the New Deal — that phrase is here used not to indicate party differences but to denote the growing contest between rugged individualism and a more socialized order — will no doubt occupy first place for some time to come. If we consider Canada and other commonwealths of the British empire as allied to British and North American views of life, we have left the twenty republics of Latin America. In spite of inaccurate geographical terminology, we may think of them as a continent. They have their own peculiar development, just as has each of the other great sections of the earth. In fact, there is here a more homogeneous people than on any other of the continents. Here is the greatest solid block of republics in the world. All speak practically the same language, since both Spanish and Portuguese are understood by those speaking either. All have a common racial, religious, political and psychological inheritance. There is here more fertile, undeveloped, underpopulated land than in any other of the five great territorial divisions. Differing from Africa, the next least occupied continent, Latin America has an intellectual class which governs and dominates life, equal to the cultured circles in the most advanced nations of the world. Here is also a people which, with its own peculiar emphasis on Iberian individualism and Indian communal life, does not accept the theory of superiority of Anglo-European-white culture. Akin to Asia, Africa and Europe, it is the most cosmopolitan in its sympathies of any of the continents. It is therefore in a more independent position to pick and choose from other civilizations than is any other continent.

All the other parts of the world are endeavoring to gain an influence there. Every commercial, political, racial, cultural and religious school in the world is sending its representatives to propagate its ideas and capture the sympathies of Latin America. The broad-minded hospitality given to these various schools is something that is often quite shocking to North Americans, who are so very set in their ideas as to the superiority of white, capitalistic, orthodox Christian civilization. But gone are the old days when the Monroe Doctrine assumed a proprietary right in the political world and the Roman Catholic church took the same exclusive position in reference to religion. The theosophists of India, the communists of Russia, are only examples of the various schools and nations that are seeking the hand of this fair Southern Helen.

The representative of the High Commission appointed by the League of Nations to help German refugees persuaded government officials of Rio de Janeiro to carry out a former plan to organize a new university of social sciences, employing refugee professors. A rector was appointed and sent to Europe to engage these specialists. On his arrival in Paris he was met by representatives of the French government, who proposed that

French professors, who might have free passage on national ships and retain their home salaries while teaching abroad, be selected. So anxious were the French to maintain their prestige in Brazil that they sent ten professors on these conditions. On the other hand, other Latin-American nations have taken swift advantage of Germany's loss by employing a considerable number of her outstanding scientists. In four neighbor countries there are now a group of thirty-five of these distinguished men acting either as teachers or technical advisers to governments — twelve in Panama, twelve in Colombia, seven in Ecuador and four in Peru. These are forming, along with their Latin-American colleagues in these countries, the Instituto Americano Universitario de Investigación, which may mean the rapid transformation of educational methods in these lagging countries.

Many other foreign governments are making strenuous efforts to introduce their cultural agents. The frequent visits of trade missions from all industrial countries are too well known to need comment (except that it is worth noting that these are about the only ones in which North Americans take any prominent part, a fact which leaves the impression that this country has nothing to offer in cultural matters). Lecturers from various European and Oriental countries are continuously announced in the Southern newspapers. The latest and most attractive literature from France, Germany, Russia and other countries (omitting again the United States) is seen on the inviting book tables of all the Southern cities. German race-ism, Italian nationalism and Russian communism have each developed highly effective propaganda agencies for spreading their doctrines. At present the German machine is most active and powerful, while the Russian is quite evidently slowing down considerably. Great Britain from the commercial and France from the cultural side are exerting every effort, with France apparently losing prestige. With the Spanish revolution, the dominance of the *madre patria* is temporarily in eclipse.

The countries near the United States, in response to our "good neighbor" policy and because of close commercial ties and improved connections by air and highway, are being drawn nearer to us than ever before. Indeed, a superficial observer at the Buenos Aires peace conference, observing the close backing that Mexico and the Caribbean countries gave the North American delegation, might have concluded that the differences between Anglo-Saxons and Latin Americans, at least as regards the northern section of the continent, were rapidly disappearing. But this author, with all his appreciation of that fellowship between delegates of North and South, is not inclined to change fundamentally the assumption of this book: that Latin Americans and North Americans, while they have youth and a rich future in common, approach life from fundamentally different points of view. If the present improved political relations are to grow into real fellowship, there must be a consciously planned and well directed inclusive exchange of cultural ideals.

Japan, putting herself and her neighbors on wheels, is leading another Asiatic movement toward the South. Leaders of Oriental religious cults, groups of small industrialists, merchants, city and farm laborers are slowly but steadily supplying Latin America with what she both wants and needs, in a way that self-satisfied Western nations often fail to do. Away up in the interior of South America in the city of Asunción, a Japanese-Paraguayan Cultural Association was recently organized. It is difficult indeed to estimate how great will be the influence of the Orient on these countries.

The ecumenical attitude, the lack of race prejudice, the Oriental inheritances from early days and the modern polyglot immigration, all make for a broad-minded cosmopolitanism which is quite beyond the understanding of the average scion of Western civilization, but must be taken into account in judging the place Latin America will take in world life. The emphasis on the dignity of each individual and the value of friendship may mean that Hispanic America, avoiding the injustices of communism on the one side and the false exaltation of capitalism on the other, will help the world discover a way to use both modern science and the intuitive gifts of the spirit to build for humanity an era of larger liberty and happiness.

Uruguay. Until the chapter on Uruguay was written, the author was not conscious of how small is the amount of literature in English on this subject. Brief chapters in histories of Latin America and short paragraphs in press dispatches are the rule. No book in English on this country has appeared since W. H. Koebel published his *Uruguay* (1911) and W. H. Hudson gave his beautiful descriptions in *The Purple Land* (1916). Various interesting references are made in *Modern Hispanic America,* edited by A. C. Wilgus (Washington, 1933) and in Cleven's *Readings in Hispanic-American History,* pp. 745–54. A brief study of Uruguay's great reformer is that by P. A. Martin, " The Career of José Batlle y Ordóñez," (*Hispanic-American Historical Review,* Nov., 1930). See also occasional articles in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union,* such as Luisa Luisi's " The Literature of Uruguay " (July, 1930) and Beatrice Newhall's " Zorrilla de San Martín " (Feb., 1932), and in the files of *Inter-America* which unfortunately has ceased publication. Uruguay is proud of her record on international peace and arbitration, including her advocacy of an American league of nations, referred to in a pamphlet by the distinguished president and author of the plan, Baltasar Brum, *The Peace of America* (Montevideo, 1923).

Spanish literature, on the other hand, is rich in references to this little land because of its important contributions to *belles lettres* and politics. The history of her intellectual life has been recently told in a charming way by one of her leading writers, Alberto Zum Felde, *Proceso intelectual del Uruguay,* 3 vols., (Montevideo, 1930). The same author has written a good history, *Proceso histórico del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1933). There has just been issued a five-volume work, averaging seven hundred pages to the volume, by E. Acevedo, *Anales históricos del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1933–34). The Uruguayan government issues full *memoria* of each department and of the semi-independent socialist corporations set up by the states. These are the best sources, although the Uruguayan newspapers, magazines and pamphlet literature are filled with discussions of the new program.

Batlle y el batllismo (Montevideo, 1928), by Robert B. Gindice, a monumental though eulogistic life of Batlle, 1198 pages long, covers the history of Uruguay during the great reformer's life, and also, with considerable detail, the social and political reforms of that period. The monthly *Boletín del Instituto Internacional Americano de Protección a la Infancia,* the organ of the Pan-American Child Institute which has headquarters in Montevideo and is supported by various governments, contains information on social questions on the American continent. The July, 1934, number contains the full Uruguayan Children's Code recently adopted.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION. Material on the Mexican revolution is becoming quite extensive, although a well rounded philosophical interpretation of the movement is yet to be written. Among the bibliographies for the early part of this movement probably the best in English is by C. K. Jones, " The Mexican Literature on the Recent Revolution " (*Hispanic-American Historical Review,* May, 1919). Books in English concerning Mexico are, quite understandably, more numerous than those about any other Latin-American country. A brief list of the most helpful in beginning a study of the subject are mentioned here. For background: the classic of Madame Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* (numerous editions); C. H. Flandrau, *Viva Mexico!* (New York, 1927); George M. McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York, 1923); Bertita Harding, *Phantom Crown, Story of Maximilian and Carlota of Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1933).

The most comprehensive book in English dealing with background and the developments in the revolution itself up to 1928 is by Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York, 1928). Charles W. Hackett in *The Mexican Revolution and the United States* (Boston, 1927) gives an important interpretation of relations between these two countries in the first fifteen years of the revolution. A picture of Mexican life and of some of the leading participators in the revolution during the first ten years is shown by S. G. Inman, *Intervention in Mex-*

ico. The first edition, published by the Association Press, was withdrawn from circulation at the request of certain petroleum interests but another edition was issued by George Doran (New York, 1919).

Other worth-while books are by George B. Winton, *Mexico Past and Present* (Nashville, 1928), and J. Fred Rippy, *The United States in Mexico* (New York, 1926). An interesting glimpse of the recent development of Mexican art is given by Anita Brenner, *Idols Behind Altars* (New York, 1929). Stuart Chase in *A Study of the Two Americas* (New York, 1931) gives a most interesting comparison between Indian and Anglo-Saxon American culture. Alberto Rembao's *Lupita, A Story of Mexico in Revolution* (New York, 1935), traces the relationship of communism and Christianity among Mexican young people both north and south of the Rio Grande. Some of the best addresses of the most vigorous of Mexico's revolutionary presidents are printed in Plutarco Elias Calles' *Mexico Before the World* (New York, 1927).

The most interesting description of the rural schools of Mexico is found in a pamphlet by Mrs. Katherine M. Cook, *The House of the People* (Washington, 1932). This publication by the Department of Education of the United States (price ten cents) offers an easy way of securing a delightful and inclusive description of this important educational development, and furnishes also a good bibliography on the subject. The best book on the subject is by George L. Sánchez, *Mexico, A Revolution by Education* (New York, 1936).

Of the enormous amount of literature on the religious question, we list three recently issued authoritative books which give the viewpoints of the government, the Roman Catholic church, and the Protestant. The government's case is presented in an important historical and legal essay by the Mexican attorney general, Emilio Portes Gil, *The Conflict between the Civil Power and the Clergy* (Mexico, 1935), obtainable from any Mexican consulate. The church's position is presented in an authoritative, well documented book by Bishop Francis Clement Kelly, *Blood Drenched Altars* (Milwaukee, 1935). A scientific survey of the general problem and a study of the American Protestant missionary work and the resultant Mexican church is given by a Mexican and a British author, G. Baez Camargo and Kenneth G. Grubb in *Religion in the Republic of Mexico* (London, 1935). An impartial historical study of the question is presented in the two volumes by Professor Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, *Church and State in Mexico, 1822–1857* (Durham, N. C., 1926), and *Liberalism in Mexico, 1857–1929* (Calif., 1931).

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, which conducts annual seminars, has issued two interesting volumes which interpret the educational, artistic, economic and political life of Mexico — *The Genius of Mexico* (New York, 1931) and *Renascent Mexico* (New York, 1935). Two important novels describing the life of the soldiers in the revolution have been translated into English: *Underdogs,* by Mariano Azuela (New York, 1929) and *The Eagle and the Serpent,* by Martín Luis Guzmán (New York, 1930). The most painstaking effort in English to interpret the significance of the revolution is Frank Tannenbaum's *Peace by Revolution* (New York, 1933). An interesting and important interpretation of Emiliano Zapata's participation in the revolution is given in a charmingly written book by Mrs. Rosa King, *Tempest Over Mexico* (Boston, 1925). The part played by an outstanding American ambassador is outlined by Harold Nicolson in *Life of Dwight Morrow* (New York, 1935). A series of lectures on social and racial questions given at the University of Chicago by three distinguished Mexicans and an American historian is published as follows: José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio, *Aspects of Mexican Civilization:* Moisés Sáenz and Herbert I. Priestly, *Some Mexican Problems* (Chicago, 1926). An English translation of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 is found in the effusive five-million-word document by which Senator Albert Fall endeavored to bring about United States intervention in Mexico, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs,* Report by United States Senate, Sen. Doc. No. 285 (Washington, 1920).

In Spanish probably the best bibliography on the revolution is by Roberto Ramos, *Bibliografía de la revolución mexicana* (up to May, 1931) (Mexico, 1932). Social conditions in Mexico previous to the revolution are delightfully described from a liberal-conservative viewpoint in a three-volume work edited by

Justo Sierra, *México, su evolución social* (Mexico, 1900–4), and in a book by Andrés Molina Enríquez, *Los grandes problemas nacionales* (Mexico, 1909). The work of the young intellectuals mentioned in the text is described in the following: *Conferencias del ateneo de la juventud* (Mexico, 1919); *Disertaciones de un arquitecto* (Mexico, 1920); Federico E. Mariscal, *La patria y la arquitectura* (Mexico, 1915); Antonio Caso, *El problema de México y la ideología nacional;* José Vasconcelos, *Don Gabino Barreda y las ideas contemporáneas;* Vicente Lombardo Toledano, *La libertad sindical en México* (Mexico, 1928). Carlos González Peña, *Historia de la literatura mexicana* (Mexico, 1928), gives in his final chapters a good outline of the literature of the revolution. The Department of Education (address, *Secretaría de Educación,* Mexico, D. F.) has issued continuously books, pamphlets and magazines that interpret the doctrine of the revolution and the development of the new educational system. The Department of Foreign Affairs (*Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores*) has issued, at times in English, important documents concerning the international relations of the government, and all other major government departments have published continually reports on the socializing processes of their departments. The Spanish journalist Luis Araquistain, in *La revolución mejicana* (Madrid, 1929), has given one of the best interpretations of the first fifteen years of the revolution. This list is sufficient for readers of Spanish to begin with.

POETS VERSUS ENGINEERS. Many of the books cited, especially in Book I, have to do with the large questions of the future which are discussed in this section. Therefore we mention here only, first a few outstanding modern works in Spanish; second, a list of translations both of prose and poetry into English, which will serve to give the Hispanic-American viewpoint concerning its own problems; and finally a few bibliographies which give extensive references for further study.

The following books are selected from among a large number representing the viewpoint and problems of various countries, because of their vigorous treatment of the present and future of these nations: Alcides Argüedas, *Pueblo enfermo* (Barcelona, 1910); M. Bomfin, *O Brazil nação,* 2 vols. (Rio de

Janeiro, 1931); Alfredo Colmo, *Política cultural en los países latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires, 1925); Pedro Dávalos y Lissón, *La primera centenaria, causas geográficas, políticas y económicas que han detenido el progreso moral y material del Perú* (Lima, 1919); Carlos Keller, *La eterna crisis chilena* (Santiago, 1930); Luis López de Mesa, *De cómo se ha formado la nación colombiana* (Bogotá, 1934); Salvador Mendieta, *La enfermedad de Centro América* (Barcelona, 1910); Julio Navarro Monzó, *La misión del arte en la cultura de América* (Montevideo, 1934); J. Gonzalo Orellano, *El Ecuador en cien años de independencia* (Quito, 1930); Samuel Ramos, *El perfil del hombre* (Mexico, 1934); José Vasconcelos, *Monroísmo y bolivarismo* (Santiago, Chile, 1934); Alberto Zum Felde, *Proceso intelectual del Uruguay,* 3 vols. (Montevideo, 1930); Juan Zorrilla de San Martín, *El sermón de la paz* (Montevideo, 1924). An important analysis of Southern life is given by the distinguished French critic André Siegfried in *Impressions of South America* (New York, 1933).

Since a people's own interpretation of its life is most important, an effort is here made to list the worth-while works of Latin-American writers that have been translated into English: Juan Bautista Alberdi, *The Crime of War* (out of print): Victor Andrés Belaúnde, *Hispanic America, Its Culture and Its Ideals* (Rice Institute, Oct., 1923); Aluizio de Azevedo, *A Brazilian Tenement* (New York, 1926); Rufino Blanco Fombona, *The Man of Gold* (New York, 1920); Alberto Blest Gana, *Martín Rivas* (New York, 1918); Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *Cuentos típicos* (Cleveland, 1908), *Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica* (New York, 1913); Rómulo Gallegos, *Doña Bárbara* (New York, 1931); José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel* (Boston, 1922) and *Motives of Proteus* (New York, 1928); Ricardo Rojas, *The Invisible Christ* (New York, 1931); Diómedes de Pereyra, *The Land of the Golden Scarabs* (Indianapolis, 1928); José Pereira de Graca Aranha, *Canaan* (Boston, 1921); Ricardo Güiraldes, *Don Segundo Sombra* (New York, 1935); Isaac Goldberg (translator), *Brazilian Tales* (Boston, 1921); Jorge Isaacs, *María* (New York, 1922); José Mármol, *Amalia* (New York, 1919); Hugo Wast, *Stone Desert* (New York, 1928); *Black Valley* (New York, 1929) and *Peach Blossom* (New York, 1929); Genaro Prieto, *Partner* (London, 1931); C. Parra-Pérez, *Bolívar, A Contribution to the Study of His Political Ideas* (Paris, 1928); Miguel de Unamuno, *The Agony of Christianity* (New York, 1928); Waldo Frank (editor), *Tales from the Argentine* (New York, 1930); E. H. Bierstadt (editor), *Three Plays of the Argentine* (New York, 1920); Charles B. McMichael (translator), *Short Stories from the Spanish* (New York, 1920); Tancredo Pinochet, *The Gulf of Misunderstanding* (New York, 1922); F. García Calderón, *Latin America, Its Rise and Progress* (London, 1913); Manuel Ugarte, *The Destiny of a Continent* (New York, 1925). Life-sketches of leading Latin Americans are given by William B. Parker, *Argentines of Today, Cubans of Today,* etc. (New York, 1929), and the first attempt in English of a Latin-American bibliographical dictionary has just been prepared by Percy Alvin Martin, *Who's Who in Latin America* (Stanford University, 1935).

Some English translations of Hispanic-American poetry are here given. Alice Stone Blackwell's *Some Spanish American Poets* (New York, 1929) is the most valuable contribution to this field by a distinguished translator of Spanish verse. She is also the author of various translations in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (Jan., 1926; Sept., 1926; March, 1927; Feb., 1928). Thomas Walsh in *Hispanic Anthology* (New York, 1920) has furnished the next best collections of verse, with short biographical notes. Anita Brenner gives us the flavor of early Indian verse in *Quechua Poems from Peru* (New York, 1929); Agustín Edwards in his *My Native Land* (London, 1929) gives samples of Chilean verse; "Latin-American Poets in English Translation" (*Poetry,* July, 1925) offers a good selection from various countries. Muna Lee of Puerto Rico has done much in this field; for some of her translations, see *Nocturno* by José Asunción Silva (Washington, 1928) and various numbers of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (July, 1925, Aug., 1928); Walter Huntington, the dean of the North American colony in Buenos Aires, has translated the famous Indian epic by Juan Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré* (Buenos Aires, 1935); Henry A. Holmes in *Martín Fierro, An Epic of the Argentine* (New York, 1923) gives an interesting commentary, with the translation of many passages, on the most important work concerning the gauchos of Argentina; Charles B. McMichael has translated *Prosas Profanas and Other Poems* by Rubén Darío (New York, 1922); Salomón de la Selva, himself a poet of distinction, has translated *Eleven Poems of Rubén Darío* (New York, 1916). Other contributions are: *Pan-American Poetry* (Washington, April, 1918); Pepe Rey, *The Epic of the Aztecs* (translated by J. H. Cornyn, Washington, Aug., 1930); Isabel S. Sharpe, *El alma primitiva* by José Santos Chocano (Washington, Oct., 1925). Bibliographical data and translations of several poems by the distinguished Chilean are given by Isabel K. Macdermott in an article entitled "Gabriela Mistral" (*Pan American Union Bulletin,* July, 1924).

For the benefit of those who wish more complete information we mention the following general bibliographies: Harry Erwin Bard, *South American Study Suggestions* (New York, 1916); N. Andrew N. Cleven, *Readings in Hispanic-American History* (Boston, 1927); Peter H. Goldsmith, *A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish and Portuguese Relating to the Republics Commonly Called Latin American* (New York, 1915); Halford L. Hoskins, *Guide to Latin-American History* (New York, 1922); C. K. Jones, "Hispanic-American Bibliographies" (*Hispanic-American Historical Review,* various articles published in 1920, 1921, 1926, 1929); William W. Pierson, Jr. and Cornelia S. Love, *A Study of South America,* an outline for individual and group study (Chapel Hill, 1929); *Inter-America,* a monthly published from October 1917 to June 1926, containing every other month translations of important articles regarding Latin-American culture taken from Spanish and Portuguese periodicals — a most important source for understanding Latin-American life. The Pan American Union publishes from time to time bibliographies on all Latin-American topics, including history, literature, art, education, etc., which can be secured, along with other useful information, by writing to the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

The quarrel over what to call the people of South America when referring to them collectively is an old one. The popular term is "Latin Americans." But no sooner does one decide that its use is justifiable, than some student from North America, impressed by his interviews with the various supernationalists during his first visit to the Southern republics, arises forthwith to proclaim that no racial generalization can properly designate these twenty peoples who differ so consciously and conspicuously one from another. While one admits that no generic term is adequate to describe a vast composite branch of the human family — not even "British" to embrace the many diverse units in that commonwealth of nations, and certainly not "American" to include the various peoples under the stars and stripes — and while one is arguing that for the sake of convenience and brevity such racial generic terms are necessary, and therefore why not "Latin Americans" for the populations south of the United States — up steps the Spaniard. He declaims against the term "Latin Americans" on the ground that it was invented by France, with assumption of credit where none was due; for, he points out, it was not the Latin countries in general that colonized these overseas lands, but almost exclusively Spain and Portugal. Therefore, he contends, its people should be called "Hispanic Americans," or, in deference to the Brazilians, who at times object to the word "Hispanic" as savoring too much of Spain (though originally Hispania included what is now Portugal), he would approve the term "Ibero-Americans." As the argument gets warmer a young revolutionist from Peru or Mexico interposes, declaring that since Indian blood is dominant in this part of the hemisphere its inhabitants should properly be called "Indo-Americans."

From their several points of view each of these contestants is right. Nevertheless, most of the writers and educated people of the Southern countries themselves, and the outside world in general, continue to use the well established term, "Latin

America." As a matter of fact, this nomenclature is of recent coinage and is probably traceable to France, heartily seconded by Italy. France, seeking to capitalize her cultural dominance in America, is even now exploiting the idea her savants have entertained of a Latin alliance, at least a cultural one, that would check the triumphant march of the Anglo-Saxons in the new republics. Italy is glad to share in Latin glory in America; for, besides having sent millions of her people in recent years to help build the young Southern nations, she does not forget that it was one of her sons who discovered the western continent, and another who named it. Further, was it not the legions of Latin Rome which conquered Spain and France and gave to both their Latin language and civilization — although, as soon as Roman power was overthrown, each country developed her life and speech along the lines of her own idiosyncrasies? Salvador Madariaga, the brilliant Spanish author and peace advocate who has written so interestingly on the Three Latin Sisters, sees even in the names of the three caravels led by Columbus the representation of three spiritual qualities of those three Latin lands. *La Pinta* — "The Motley" — represents France, with her variety, her clearness of vision, her grace and charm, her liberty bordering on license, her elegance and easy-going tolerance. *La Niña* — "The Girl" — is Italy, with her volatility, her vitality, her pride, beauty, romance, her jealousy of her sisters, her sensibility. *Santa María* — "Holy Mary" — is of course Spain, with her religious passion, her conception of world unity, her mysticism, her offering of admirals, conquistadors and monks to the service of her strange and jealous Lord.[1] A bit fanciful, of course, but very Latin, and very much the kind of idealistic deduction which "Latin Americans" enjoy.

So perhaps it is just as well to surrender to the popular term, "Latin America," especially when one remembers the large contribution made by Italy through immigration, and still more the overwhelmingly predominant influence of French culture, not simply in French-colonized Haiti, but in every section of these lands.

Sufficient defense of the use of a general designation for all these countries is the fact that, while it is necessary to make clear distinction between them, they have fundamental likenesses in history, psychology and ideals. I wrote recently to a number of Latin-American friends in various countries to check their opinions with mine on several important questions. The replies differed widely as to facts and opinions, the differences depending on local conditions and on whether the writers were conservative or liberal; but the general psychological approach to all the questions was practically identical. Brazil speaks Portuguese, Haiti speaks French, the other republics speak Spanish; but all have been settled by people from the Hispanic peninsula, all have been tinctured with Indian blood and nourished by French literature. Mexicans may have a preponderance of indigenous blood; Brazilians may be admixed with Africans, and Argentines with Italians; but the Latin attitude toward life is as dominant in all of them as is the Anglo-Saxon attitude in all North Americans, though Slavs, Celts, Latins and a host of other nationalities have passed through the Northern melting pot. This theme of racial mixtures and their psychological influences in forming the people of South America is as fascinating as it is complicated and is worthy of detailed treatment. However, we must appreciate the difficulty of treating together in a brief space the peoples scattered, in many different climatic, industrial and political situations, all the way from the Rio Grande and the Caribbean down to the tip of Tierra del Fuego.

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[1] *Foreign Affairs*, 1929, pp. 301–7.

IMPORTANT DATES IN LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

1492	Columbus discovers America
1493	Line of demarcation of Pope Alexander VI
1496	Founding of Santo Domingo
1500	Brazil discovered by Cabral of Portugal
1502	Negro slavery introduced into the New World
1513	Pacific discovered by Balboa; Florida by Ponce de León
1516	Discovery of Río de la Plata by Díaz de Solís
1519–21	Mexico conquered by Cortés
1524	Council of the Indies organized
1531–33	Francisco Pizarro conquers Peru
1537	Founding of Asunción
1541	Founding of Santiago de Chile
1549	Founding of Bahia
1551	Founding of universities of San Marcos (Lima) and Mexico
1570	Inquisition introduced into Spanish America
1571	Execution of " the last of the Incas," Tupac Amaru
1580	Founding of Buenos Aires
1588	Spanish Armada defeated
1595	Sir Walter Raleigh sails up the Orinoco river
1610	First arrival of Jesuits in Asunción
1621	Dutch West Indies Company chartered
1623	Founding of St. Kitts, first English colony in West Indies
1654	Dutch driven from Pernambuco
1673	Present city of Panama founded
1697	France acquires western Haiti
1763	Rio de Janeiro becomes capital of Brazil
1767	Society of Jesus suppressed in Spanish colonies and Spain
1777	Treaty of San Ildefonso signed by Spain and Portugal
1804	Haiti achieves independence
1806	Buenos Aires captured and lost by the British
1806	Francisco Miranda leads patriot expedition from New York to Venezuela
1807	Government of Portugal removes to Brazil
1807	Montevideo captured and evacuated by the British
1808	Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, abdicates

1810 Independence movement begins in Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina
1811 Paraguay, Venezuela and Ecuador proclaim independence
1813 Colombia proclaims independence
1814 Ferdinand VII restored
1814–40 Dr. Francia is dictator of Paraguay
1816 Argentina proclaims independence
1817 San Martín defeats Spaniards at Chacabuco
1817 Portuguese capture Montevideo which temporarily becomes Brazilian territory
1818 Chile proclaims independence
1821 Peru, Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador declare independence
1822 Brazil secures independence with Pedro as emperor
1822 San Martín withdraws from Peru and South America
1822 The United States recognizes the independence of various Hispanic-American states
1823 Monroe Doctrine promulgated
1825 Bolivia proclaims independence
1826 South America completely freed from Spain
1826 Bernardino Rivadavia, president of Argentina, negotiates loan in London
1828 Independence of Uruguay from Brazil and Argentina
1830 Death of Bolívar
1833 New Constitution of the Chilean state
1837–39 War between Chile and the Peru-Bolivian confederation
1838 Buenos Aires blockaded by French fleet
1842–52 Struggle between Argentina and Brazil over Uruguay
1844 Dominican Republic established
1844 Allan Gardner begins missionary work among South American Indians
1846–48 War between the United States and Mexico
1855 Railroad between Colón and Panama City opened
1855–60 Santo Domingo under Spanish flag
1856 William Walker becomes president of Nicaragua
1857 Construction of Western Railway in Argentina begun
1862–67 French intervention in Mexico
1862 Bartolomé Mitre becomes president of a united Argentina
1865–70 The Paraguayan war
1866 Alliance between Ecuador, Chile and Peru
1866 Spanish bombard Valparaiso
1867–72 Benito Juárez is president of Mexico
1873 Vera Cruz railroad opened

1873 Protestant missions established in Mexico
1874 First South American cable laid between Pernambuco and Lisbon
1877–80, 1884–1911 Porfirio Díaz is president of Mexico
1879–83 War of the Pacific
1889 Brazil becomes a republic
1890 Organization of the International Bureau of American Republics, later changed to the Pan American Union
1891 Civil war between the Balmacedists and the Congressional party in Chile
1895 Venezuelan boundary dispute involving Monroe Doctrine
1898 Spanish-American war
1898 Cuba independent
1898 Puerto Rico acquired by the United States
1899 Guayaquil-Quito railway begun
1900 Publication of Rodó's appeal to youth, *Ariel*
1902 International disturbance over Venezuelan debts
1902 Arbitration treaty between Argentina and Chile
1903 Independence of Panama
1905 United States assumes collection of customs in Dominican Republic
1907 Latin-American nations' first participation in world peace conference at The Hague
1910 Beginning of social revolution in Mexico
1914 Panama Canal opened
1914 United States troops occupy Vera Cruz
1915–16 Intervention of the United States in Haiti and the Dominican Republic
1916 United States acquires canal rights in Nicaragua
1917 United States purchases Virgin Islands from Denmark
1917 Brazil, Cuba, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama declare war against Germany
1917 New Constitution in Mexico
1918 Inauguration of Latin-American university reform
1919 Death of Amado Nervo, Mexican poet, bringing demonstration of Latin-American solidarity
1919 Eleven Latin-American states represented at the Paris peace conference
1919 League of Nations joined by Colombia, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Panama, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Haiti, Uruguay
1920 President Brum of Uruguay proposes an American league of nations

1921 Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent state
1922–23 Brazilian Centenary Exposition at Rio de Janeiro
1926 Brazil resigns from the League of Nations
1929 Treaty between Chile and Peru settles Tacna-Arica question
1929 Chaco dispute precipitates armed clashes between Paraguay and Bolivia
1930 Revolutions due to economic and social causes in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala and Dominican Republic
1931 Revolutions in Chile, Panama, Honduras and El Salvador
1932 Mexico enters the League of Nations
1932 Signing of Argentine Anti-War Pact during visit of president of Argentina to Brazil, stressing South America's desire to settle her own problems
1933 Geneva undertakes first settlement of American disputes — Leticia and Chaco
1934 United States withdraws marines from last Latin-American country; abrogates Platt Amendment; signs Non-Intervention Treaty
1935 Uruguay, following rest of Latin America, breaks relations with Russia; strengthening of fascist tendencies in numerous Latin-American countries
1935 Armistice in Chaco War
1936 President Roosevelt calls Pan-American peace conference at Buenos Aires
1936 Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras resign from League of Nations
1936 Revival of plans for an American league
1936 Proposal of plebiscite on Puerto Rican independence

SOME INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

1826 Congress of Panama, Panama City
1847 American Congress, Lima
1856 Continental Congress, Santiago, Chile
1865 American Congress, Lima
1877 American Congress of Jurists, Lima
1887 Sanitary Congress of Brazil and the States of the La Plata, Rio de Janeiro
1888 International South American Law Congress, Montevideo
1888 Central American Congress, San José

1889	First International Conference of American States, Washington
1898	First Latin-American Scientific Congress, Montevideo
1901	Second International Conference of American States, Mexico City
1902	First Sanitary Convention of the American Republics, Washington
1906	Third Conference of American States, Rio de Janeiro
1909	First Pan-American Scientific Congress, Santiago, Chile
1910	Fourth International Conference of American States, Buenos Aires
1911	First Pan-American Commercial Conference, Washington
1912	International Commission of Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
1915	First Pan-American Financial Conference, Washington
1916	Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington
1916	First Pan-American Child Welfare Conference, Buenos Aires
1921	First Pan-American Postal Congress, Buenos Aires
1923	Fifth International Conference of American States, Santiago, Chile
1923	First Pan-American Red Cross Conference, Buenos Aires
1925	First Pan-American Conference on Uniformity of Specifications, Lima
1925	First Pan-American Congress of Highways, Buenos Aires
1926	First Pan-American Congress of Journalists, Washington
1927	International Commission of American Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
1927	First Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture, Habana
1928	Sixth International Conference of American States, Habana
1928–29	International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, Washington
1929	Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Mexico City
1929	Inter-American Highway Congress, Panama City
1930	Inter-American Congress of Rectors, Deans and Educators, Habana
1930	Inter-American Commission of Women, Habana
1933	First Congress of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Rio de Janeiro
1933	Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo
1936	Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires
1938	Eighth International Congress of American States called for this date, Lima

INDEX

Adams, John Quincy, 124, 125
Agricultural products of Old and New worlds, 38
Agriculture, advance in, 170–72
Alberdi, Juan Bautista, 48, 136
Alessandri, Arturo, 138, 188, 189, 190, 254, 283
Alfaro, Eloy, 145
Álvarez, Agustín, 307
Álvarez del Vayo, Julio, 321
Alvear, Marcelo T. de, 197
American league of nations, 316, 340–45
Angostura, Congress of, 97
Anti-Semitism, 5, 34, 65, 66, 67
Apra, 140, 185, 186, 267, 292; in Cuba, 279; program of, 187–88
Aprista, see Apra
Aranha, Oswaldo, 211
Argentina: in Chaco, 220; colonization in, 55; commerce of, 134, 135; communism in, 294; in Conference for Maintenance of Peace, 341; in cultural exchange, 349, 350; economic strength of, 203; foreign influence in, 121, 137; immigrants welcomed in, 49, 137; national life newly organized in, 131, 132, 137; population and races of, 56–58; radicalism in, 158; revolutions in, 196–99, 410; social legislation in, 253, 254; students' revolt in, 270; students' strike in, 264; trade unions in, 250; in war with Brazil, 135
Argentine Anti-War Pact, 324
Arias, Armando, 339
Armaments: in Chaco, supplied by United States, 222; investigations on, by Nye committee, 230–33
Asiatics, 77
Ayala, Eusebio, 202, 217, 238

Balmaceda, José Manuel, 138
Batlle y Ordóñez, José, 142, 364–67
Belaúnde, Víctor Andrés, 262, 272
Belgrano, Manuel, 95
Bello, Andrés, 145
Benavides, Oscar, 140, 186
Bibliography: I, 79–85; II, 150–53; III, 240–44; IV, 355–59; V, 437–44
Bilbao, Francisco, 306
Bolívar, Simón, 46, 48, 95–101, 104, 107, 110, 111, 123, 125, 139, 143, 145, 316
Bolivia: armaments sold to, 233; attempts at union with Peru, 138, 141; chaos in, 141; communism in, 290; formation of, 140; loans to, 177, 220, 221; population of, 52; revolutions in, 213; in War of the Pacific, 117, 118
Braga, Erasmo, 179
Brazil, 146, 147; coffee in, 204, 205; communism in, 295; constitutions of, 131, 146, 206, 207, 208, 210; fascism in, 295, 296; Germany in, 122; immigration in, 58–62, 206; investments in, 177; labor in, 258; loans to, 204, 205; in Paraguayan War, 117; population of, 59; positivism and spiritualism in, 307; Protestantism in, 307, 308; races of, 45, 58, 59; revolutions in, 204–6, 410; social conditions in, 74; in war with Argentina, 135
British Honduras, 119
Brum, Baltasar, 370
Buchanan, James, 317
Buenos Aires: British loan to, 135; captured by British, 135; contraband trade of, 134; description of, 3; growth of, 200; population of, 3, 58
Butler, Smedley, 129

Calles, Plutarco Elías, 381, 391, 401
Calvo Doctrine, 168, 385, 386
Canal Zone, 18, 19
Caperton, Admiral William B., 128
Cárdenas, Lázaro, 284, 382, 384, 385, 391, 393, 401, 402

Caribbean, 436; A. F. of L's. influence in, 251; foreign rivalry in, 122, 123, 125; races of, 43, 45–47; rivalry between United States and Great Britain in, 118, 120, 121; United States in, 18, 19, 126–29
Carranza, Venustiano, 379, 380, 408
Casada, Carlos, 220
Castillo Nájera, Francisco, 4
Castro, Cipriano, 146
Celman, Miguel Juárez, 196
Central America, 149; communism in, 287, 288; disestablishes church, 115; Indians of, 163; population of, 51, 70; revolutions in, 116, 132; rivalry between United States and Great Britain in, 118, 119
Cerruto, Oscar, 291
Chaco, 218–20, 291; area of, 219; Argentina in, 220; Bolivia in, 220; petroleum in, 220
Chaco War, 52, 54, 141, 142, 215, 217; causes of, 219–21; settlement of, 223–26
Chile, 98, 137–39; chaos in, 188–90; church and state in, 138; civil war in, 138; communism in, 292, 293; constitutions of, 131, 138; in cultural exchange, 349; investments in, 177, 192; loans to, 189, 190; new labor code of, 258; population of, 52; ratifies international labor agreements, 255; social legislation in, 254; students' revolt in, 270; in War of the Pacific, 117, 118
Church and state, 105, 298; in Argentina, 144; in Brazil, 208; in Chile, 138; in Colombia, 236; in conflict with labor, 265; in Ecuador, 144, 145; in Mexico, 113, 114, 147, 148, 380, 386–93; separation of: in Latin-American states, 115; in Uruguay, 366
Clay, Henry, 102, 103, 118, 125, 317
Colmo, Alfredo, 310, 423
Colombia, 43, 98, 100, 144; amends Constitution, 236; arbitration treaties of, 316; and Canal Zone, 18, 126; communism in, 289; constitutions of, 143, 159; investments in, 177; loans to, 194, 229; loses Panama, 144; population of, 51, 70; ratifies international labor agreements, 255; revolutions in, 144; students' social work in, 268; treaty with United States, 126
Colonies: Australian, 53; Blumenau, 60; Boer, 55; British, 54; Japanese, 61; Mennonite, 54; "Alfalfa Bill" Murray's venture in, 54; Nova Friburgo, 60; Waldensian, 55
Colonization associations: Bolivian, 54; Jewish, 55
Commerce, 4, 76, 132, 134, 135, 200, 205, 211, 214, 228
Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, 308
Communism, 235, 280–304; in Argentina, 294; in Bolivia, 290; in Brazil, 295; in Central America, 287, 288; in Chile, 292, 293; in Colombia, 289; conference in Montevideo, 285; in Cuba, 288, 289; in Ecuador, 290; among Indians, 90, 297; obstacles to, 299–304; organization of, in Mexico, 285, 286, 384, 403; in Paraguay, 296; in Peru, 291, 292; in Uruguay, 295; Third International: in Chile, 292; headquarters at Montevideo, 280, 281; in Mexico, 284
Conference: Buenos Aires (4th, 1910), 318; early American, 316; Havana (6th, 1928), 202, 319; Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, *see* Inter-American; Mexico (2nd, 1901), 318; Montevideo (7th, 1933), 129, 228, 320, 321; Panama (1826), 101, 111, 118, 125; Rio de Janeiro (3rd, 1906), 318; Santiago (5th, 1923), 318; The Hague, 3; Washington (1st, 1889), 202, 317
Conquistadors, 91, 158; Cortés, 41, 91; Pizarro, 40, 41
Constitutions, 106, 115, 132; of Bolivia, 140, 141; of Brazil, 131, 146, 206, 207, 208, 210; of Chile, 138; of Colombia, 143, 236; of Ecuador, 145, 237; of Mexico, 24, 113, 114, 168, 379, 385, 387; of Uruguay, 115, 365, 371
Coolidge, Calvin, 128, 233, 319
Cortés, Hernando, 41, 91
Costa Rica, 119, 131; communism in, 288; population of, 70
Cuba: Apra in, 279; communism in,

288, 289; labor in, 258; loans to, 176; and Platt Amendment, 126, 323; population of, 70; ratifies international labor agreements, 255; struggle with Spain, 124; student martyrs in, 274; students' revolutions in, 273–75; Superior Labor Council in, 257; United States in, 125, 126
Cultural relations, 5; centers of, 348, 349; Chile a leader in, 349; and educational conferences, 348; with Europe, 435; with France, 9; with Japan, 9, 436; lack of, between United States and Latin America, 350–51; among Pan-American countries, 348–52; treaties on, 351, 352; with United States, 8, 9, 10
Cuzco, 39

Darío, Rubén, 46
Dávila, Carlos, 293
Democracy, 4, 7, 24, 106–15, 301, 305, 346, 353, 366, 417, 431; divisive forces affecting, 107–10; and totalitarianism, 10
Díaz, Porfirio, 109, 132, 136, 148, 184, 377, 380
Dictators, 107, 108, 109, 173; Benavides, 140; Díaz, 109, 132, 136, 148, 184, 377, 380; Francia, 141; Franco, 217, 227, 238; García Moreno, 144; Gómez, 146, 235; intellectuals oppose, 109; Leguía, 53, 140, 182, 291; C. López, 142; F. López, 117, 142; Machado, 18, 136, 149, 273, 274; relation to loans, 178; Rosas, 136; Siles, 214; Terra, 142, 295, 370, 371; Uriburu, 198
Dominican Republic: ratifies international labor agreements, 255; United States intervention in, 126, 127, 129

Ecuador, 144, 145; communism in, 290; constitutions of, 131, 145, 237, 290; education in, 237; students' strike in, 271
Education, 132, 190, 208, 222, 236, 237, 238, 262, 276, 277, 349, 368, 373, 417, 421, 435; in Mexico, 393–400, 439

Factories, 168, 169, 429
Fascism, 4, 5, 62, 65, 66, 191, 198, 209, 210, 238, 239, 295, 296, 303, 304
Flores Magón, Ricardo, 376
Foreign influence, 3–5, 9, 116–33; British, 119, 121, 135; in business, 165–67, 178; French, 121, 122, 137; German, 122–23; Japanese, 51, 436; United States, 125–30
France, influence of: in Argentina, 137; in Latin America, 121, 122
Francia, José G. R. de, 141, 142
Franco, Rafael, 217, 238; government recognized, 227

Gallegos, Rómulo, 291
Gamio, Manuel, 394, 429
García Calderón, Francisco, 143, 310
García Moreno, Gabriel, 144
Garrido Canabal, Tomás, 286, 391
Germany: books from, 280, 435; refugees from, 66, 434, 435; struggles for dominance, 122, 123
Gómez, Juan Vicente, 146, 235
González Prada, Manuel, 291, 292
Good neighbor policy, 8, 320–24, 435
Great Britain: in Argentina, 4, 135, 137; in Latin America, 119, 120; rivalry with United States, 116, 118–21
Grove, Marmaduke, 281, 293
Güiraldes, Ricardo, 291
Guzmán Blanco, Antonio, 145

Haiti: assists Bolívar, 46; assists United States, 46; Germany in, 122, 123; liberates the Negro, 46; United States in, 123, 126, 128, 129
Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl, 183, 185, 267
Hidalgo, Miguel, 101–2, 386
Hoover, Herbert, 197, 230
Howard, George P., 314
Hughes, Charles Evans, 202, 319, 320
Hull, Cordell, 7, 129, 202, 320, 329, 333, 354

Ibáñez, Carlos, 189, 293
Immigration, 48, 49, 71, 72; in Argentina, 55–58; in Brazil, 58–61; affected by unemployment, 67; future policy concerning, 75; Jewish, 65, 66; limitation of, 58, 67–69; Mexico restricts, 49, 50, 67; nationalities in, 50–61

Inca prayer, 40–41
Indians, 37–45, 416–18; Araucanian, 43, 138; in Argentina, 56; Aztec, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 90, 161; in Brazil, 59; communism among, 90, 297, 380; Inca, 37, 39, 40, 41, 90, 161; Maya, 37, 38, 39, 40, 161; in Mexico, 77, 163, 376, 380; nomad, 157; number of, 51, 52, 77; oppression of, 161–65; in Peru, 164; under Spain, 91, 158; Toltec, 37, 38, 39
Ingenieros, José, 48, 56, 57, 93, 201, 262
Inquisition, 92, 102, 113
Integralismo, 62, 209, 210, 295, 296
Intellectuals, 157, 421; advanced social views of, 249; in Mexico, 377–79; oppose dictators, 109, 110
Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace (Buenos Aires, 1936), 3–10, 202, 227, 330–54; American league of nations discussed at, 342–45; cultural relations considered at, 348–52; Permanent Committee of Experts on International Law created at, 347; regional peace machinery opposed by Argentina in, 341; relations with Europe considered at, 339, 340; religion emphasized in, 353; resolutions adopted at, 345–46; trade policy adopted by, 347; treaties adopted by, 335, 336; treaties proposed by, 334, 347; why called, 331; women's peace groups' influence on, 353
Inter-American conferences, list of, 454–55
Inter-American solidarity, 321, 322, 345, 354, 414, 430, 436
Intervention, 18, 19, 123, 125; of United States in Caribbean, 126, 127
Investments, 166, 177, 180, 192
Irigoyen, Hipólito, 196, 294; opposes League of Nations, 197
Iturbide, Agustín de, 102, 104, 387
Iuyamtorg, 282

Japan, 127, 128, 436; in Brazil, 58, 59, 61
Jews: in Argentina, 55, 65; attitude toward, 5, 34; in Mexico, 67; number of, 65–66; refugees, 434, 435
Jiménez, Ricardo, 288
João, Prince, 146
Jones, E. Stanley, 314
Juárez, Benito, 114, 122, 148, 387
Justo, Agustín P., 198, 294

Keith, Minor C., 175
Keller, Carlos, 417
Kellogg, Frank, 319, 320

Labor, 160, 216, 247–60; in Caribbean, 251; conciliation and arbitration, 258, 259; constitutions recognize, 259; contracts, 257, 382, 383, 384; European influence on, 248, 249; farm labor ignored, 260; international agreements ratified, 255; lack of unity of, 250; limitation of foreign, 259; in Mexico, 250, 251, 257, 382, 383, 384; minimum wage laws adopted, 255; Pan-American Federation of, 251, 252; a political force, 248; scarcity of, 247; social legislation concerning, 253, 254; Superior Labor Council in Cuba, 257; strikes, 248; trade unions, 250, 251; unemployment insurance, 256; women's wages, 255, 256
Labor's right to organize recognized, 252
Landed estates, 157–59; and Cortés, 91; in Mexico, 49, 50, 380–82
Las Casas, Padre Bartolomé de, 45
Latin America: compared with United States, 111–13; discussion of the term, 12, 447–49; effect of loans on, 178–81; influence of Indians on, 37–43; influence of Spain and Portugal on, 35, 36; liberalism in, 306; New Deal's effect on, 414; psychology of, 422–30; racial tendencies in, 422; relation to League of Nations, 326–28; United States' new attitude toward, 322, 323
Latin-American history, important dates in, 450–53
League of Nations, 4; Americas and, 325–29, 341–45; Argentina and, 197; in Chaco dispute, 223, 226, 324; influence of, at Montevideo conference, 321; in Leticia dispute, 229, 320; rivalry with Monroe Doctrine, 224
Leguía, Augusto, 53, 140, 182, 231, 291

Leticia: arbitration proposal concerning, 186; armaments in, 230, 232; boundary dispute, 228–33; League of Nations in, 229
Loans, 173, 174, 177; to Bolivia, 177, 220; to Brazil, 204, 205; British, 135; to Chile, 189, 190, 193; to Colombia, 194, 229; to Cuba, 176; effect of, 178–81; to Haiti, 175, 176; to Peru, 182–85; to Salvador, 175
López, Alfonso, 144, 159, 236, 289
López Contreras, Eleazar, 146
López, Francisco Solano, 117, 142
Luís, Washington, 205

Machado, Gerardo, 18, 136, 149, 273, 274
Mackay, John A., 314
Madero, Francisco, 378, 379, 380
Madison, James, 125
Magón, *see* Flores Magón
Mariátegui, José Carlos, 272, 291, 292, 418
Martínez, Maximiliano H., 288
Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, 24, 148
Mella, Julio Antonio, 288, 289
Mestizos, 41, 44, 45, 51, 56, 59, 73, 405; number of, 77
Mexico, 375–400; A. F. of L's. influence in, 251; Cárdenas' attitude toward labor in, 384, 385; church and state in, 113, 114, 147, 148, 380, 386–93; communist organizations in, 285, 286; conciliation of labor in, 257, 258; Constitution of 1824, 113, 168; Constitution of 1857, 114; Constitution of 1917, 379, 385, 387; distribution of land in, 381, 382; education in, 393–400; federal labor law of, 383, 384; foreigners in, 385, 386; immigration in, 49, 50, 67, 68; Indians of, 77, 163, 376, 380; intellectuals of, 377–79; International Conference of Students in, 266; labor in, 250, 382–85; landed estates in, 49, 50, 380; mestizos in, 405; National Revolutionary Party of, 284; normal schools of, 396; population of, 51; Protestantism in, 308, 387, 392; *Revolución cristera,* 390; revolutions of, 101, 102, 118, 119, 132, 408, 409; rural schools of, 394–96; Six Year Plan, 382, 402–4; social work of students in, 268; struggle for independence in, 101, 102; students' strike in, 272, 273; Third International in, 284; United States in, 19, 119, 125; United States-British rivalry in, 118, 119, 121
Miranda, Francisco de, 95, 96, 98, 145
Mistral, Gabriela, 189, 309, 311
Mitre, Bartolomé, 136, 137
Monroe Doctrine, 7, 120, 124, 125; books on, 358, 359; continentalized, 335–39; rivalry of, with League of Nations, 224, 324–26
Montalvo, Juan, 145, 306
Montero, Juan E., 190
Morrow, Dwight W., 320, 380, 386, 403
Mosquera, Tomás Cipriano de, 143
Mulattoes, 77

Nación, La, 200
Napoleon I, 94, 96, 146
Napoleon III, 122, 148
Navarro Monzó, Julio, 426–27
Negroes, 162; in Brazil, 58; in Caribbean, 43; number of, 77; prejudice against, 67
Negroid strain, 45–47
Nervo, Amado, 32–33
Neutrality, 334, 337, 341
Nicaragua: Germany in, 122; investments in, 177; population of, 70; United States in, 126–29; United States-British rivalry in, 119
Nitrates, 190–92
North American schools in Latin America, 349, 350
Núñez, Rafael, 144

Obregón, Álvaro, 381, 388, 393
O'Higgins, Bernardo, 95
Olaya Herrera, Enrique, 68, 144, 229, 236, 289, 319
Olney, Richard, 120
Osorio, Luis Enrique, 43

Páez, Federico, 237
Palacios, Alfredo, 7, 201, 262, 418
Panama: new treaty with United States, 323; population of, 70; United States in, 126, 127

Panama Congress of Christian Work, 308
Pan-American Federation of Labor, 250–52
Pan American Union, 8, 319, 321, 322, 331, 332, 340, 341; Department of Intellectual Co-operation of, 348; organization of, 318
Paraguay, 141, 142; armaments sold to, 233; communism in, 296; development of, 220; Guarani Indians in, 141; land laws of, 238; in Paraguayan War, 117; population of, 52, 54
Pedro I, emperor of Brazil, 110, 146
Pedro II, emperor of Brazil, 117, 146, 147
Peru, 100, 139, 140; Apra in, 186–88, 267; colonies in, 53; communism in, 291, 292; investments in, 177; labor in, 259; loans to, 182–86; population of, 51; Spain in, 123; students in, 267; Students' National Congress of, 278; students' revolt in, 270, 272; in Tacna and Arica dispute, 117, 118; United States naval mission to, 231, 232; in War of the Pacific, 117, 118
Petroleum, 4, 119, 218; in Chaco, 220, 221; subsoil rights to, 298
Planas Suárez, Simón, 326
Population, 77; tendencies, 48–78; *see also under names of countries*
Portal, Magda, 267
Portales, Diego, 137
Portes Gil, Emilio, 273, 284, 390
Portugal, influence of: in Brazil, 123, 146; in Latin America, 35, 36
Prensa, La, 6, 200, 341
Protestantism, 307–9, 421; in Brazil, 307; and independent churches, 308; in Mexico, 308, 387, 392; Panama Congress of Christian Work, 308; schools of, 349, 350; strength of, in Brazil, 308
Psychology of Latin American contrasted with that of Anglo-Saxon, 16–33, 420–30
Puerto Rico: plebescite proposed, 324; population of, 70, 73
Pueyrredón, Honorio, 198, 202, 319

Quiroga, Facundo, 135, 137

Race: in Argentina, 55–58; in Brazil, 58–61; Iberian, 35, 36, 89; Indian, 37–42, 89; Negro, 45–47
Racial backgrounds, 34–47
Racial inheritances, 15, 35
Racial tendencies, 76, 77, 422
Religion: attitude toward, 426; books on, 357; emphasized at Buenos Aires conference, 353; mystical elements in, 419
Revolutions, 89–105, 131, 132; in Argentina, 196, 410, 411; in Bolivia, 141; in Brazil, 204–6, 410; causes of, 92–94, 116, 167; in Colombia, 144; in Mexico, 101, 102, 118, 119, 132, 408, 409; necessity of new technique in, 412; in South America, 96–101; in Spain, 301–3, 411; students in, 269–75
Rivadavia, Bernardino, 135, 137
Rivera, Diego, 23, 377, 399, 426
Rivera, José Eustacio, 291
Robertson, William Spence, 309
Roca, Julio A., 163
Rocafuerte, Vicente, 144
Rodó, José Enrique, 374, 419, 421
Rojas, Ricardo, 57, 198, 313
Roman Catholicism, 105, 132, 142, 144, 161, 305, 306, 353, 421; awakening of, 312; co-operation of, with Protestantism, 309; Eucharistic Congress, 312; opposes government, 113–15
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 4, 5, 6, 129, 227, 320; calls peace conference, 330; emphasizes religion, 353
Roosevelt, Theodore, 18, 19, 122, 126
Root, Elihu, 138; addresses Rio de Janeiro conference, 318
Rosas, Juan Manuel, 117, 136
Rowe, Leo S., 332

Saavedra, Bautista, 214, 216
Saavedra Lamas, Carlos, 4, 202, 339, 342
Sáenz, Moisés, 42, 378, 394, 417
Salamanca, Daniel, 214
Salles Oliveira, Armando de, 211
Salvador: labor in, 259; loans to, 175; population of, 70

Sánchez, Luis Alberto, 314, 415, 419
Sánchez Cerro, Luis, 185, 228, 292
San Martín, José de, 95, 98–100, 110
Santa Anna, Antonio López de, 114, 148
Santander, Francisco de Paula, 143
Sarmiento, Domingo, 55, 136, 137, 139
Siles, Hernando, 214, 269
Silva, Víctor Domingo, 406
Soto del Corral, Jorge, 342–43
Spain: attempts to control Argentine trade, 134; attempts to regain colonies, 123; attitude toward land in New World, 297; in cultural life of New World, 298; influence of, in Latin America, 35, 36, 124; policies of, in New World, 91–93; rebellion in, 301–3, 411
Spiritual renaissance, 305–15; in Catholic church, 312; and oriental philosophies, 314, 315; and spiritualism, 307, 315; and theosophy, 315
Standard Oil Company, 4; in Chaco, 220–22
Stimson, Henry, 229, 320
Student conferences and congresses: in Córdova, 262; in Lima, 261; in Montevideo, 261; International Congress in Mexico City, 266; National Congress in Lima, 278
Students, 261–79; attack United States imperialism, 269; martyred in Cuba, 275; reform movement of, 262–66; in revolutions, 269–76; social work of, 266–69; strike: in Argentina, 264; in Ecuador, 271; in Mexico, 272, 273
Suárez, José Carlos de Macedo, 211, 341
Sucre, Antonio José de, 95, 97, 98, 141

Tacna and Arica question, 117, 214, 230, 233, 265
Tejada Sórzano, José L., 215
Terán, Juan B., 263, 264
Terra, Gabriel, 142, 295, 370, 371
Thompson, James, 308
Torres, Elena, 268
Treaties: Argentina-Great Britain, 4; Argentine Anti-War Pact, 324, 333; Bryan-Chamorro, 128; Colombian arbitration treaties, 316, 429; General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, 332; General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, 332; Gondra Pact, 319, 332, 333; Hay-Pauncefote, 120; Kellogg Pact, 48, 120, 332, 429; on peace, non-intervention and neutrality, of Buenos Aires conference, 335, 336; Platt Amendment, 126, 323; United States-Colombia, 126; United States-Panama, 323

Unamuno, Miguel de, 31, 89, 311
Unemployment, 67, 68; insurance, 255, 256
United States: in Caribbean, 18, 19, 122, 126–29; in Central America, 119, 120; in Chaco dispute, 222, 223; compared with Latin America, 111–13; a creditor nation, 173; cultural co-operation with Latin America, 8, 9, 349; democracy of, 106; effect of New Deal on Latin America, 414; and first Latin-American conferences, 316, 317; imperialism of, 116, 125–30; investments of, in Latin America, 177–79; Latin-American students attack imperialism of, 269; naval mission to Peru, 231, 232; new attitude toward Latin America, 7, 8, 322, 323; relation to League of Nations, 326; rivalry with Great Britain, 116, 118–21; Senate approves Montevideo treaties, 323; signs tariff treaties, 323; in Spanish war, 301; treaty with Panama, 323
Uriburu, José F., 198, 294
Uruguay, 135, 142, 363–74; Batlle's influence on, 364–67; breaks relations with Soviet Russia, 295; communism in, 295; Communist Conference at Montevideo, 285; constitutions of, 115, 365, 371–74; population of, 52; ratifies international labor agreements, 255; social program of, 367–69; a socialized state, 363; Terra becomes dictator of, 370; Third International in, 280, 281

Valdés, Silva, 45
Vargas, Getulio, 205, 208, 295, 341
Vasconcelos, José, 20, 34, 268, 377, 378, 393

Velasco Ibarra, José, 145, 237

Venezuela, 145, 146; constitutions of, 235; United States in, 119, 121, 122; United States-German rivalry in, 122, 123

Walker, William, 317

War: Argentina-Brazil (Banda Oriental), 135; Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, 117, 142; Chaco, 52, 54, 141, 142, 215, 217, 219–26, 291, 324; Chile civil, 138; of the Pacific, 117, 138, 140, 141; Paraguayan, 117; Pastry, 121; Spanish-American, 122, 124, 126; Tacna and Arica, 117, 118; World, 122, 123, 126, 127, 132

Whites, 77, 159; in Argentina and Brazil, 48

Wilson, Woodrow, 7, 166

Women, 206; advocate peace, 353; students, 267–68, 275; wages of, 255, 256

World's Sunday School Association Convention, 313

Zambos, 77

Zapata, Emiliano, 380–81

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